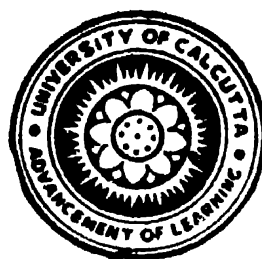


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CONTENTS

	PAGES
1. Experiments in the Technique of Recent English Verse—By Krishna Chandra Lahiri, M.A. ..	1-28
2. A Recent Criticism of the Foundations of Nicolai Hartmann's Ontology—By J. N. Mohanty, M.A. DR. PHIL. 	29-40
3. Some Aspects of the Two Main Schools of Chinese Philosophy and their Indian Counterparts—By Ajit Ranjan Bhattacharya, M.A., D.PHIL. ..	41-50
4. Fundamentals of Development Planning in Under-developed Areas—By Alak Ghosh, M.A. .	51-58
5. The Christian Philosophy of History—By Santosh Kumar Chatterjee, M.A. 	59-80
6. Folk Ritual Drawing of Bengal: A Study in Origins—By Sudhir Ranjan Das, M.A., D.PHIL. ..	81-132
7. "Some Aspects of Religious Life as depicted in Early Inscriptions and Literature of Bengal"—By Tapo Nath Chakravarti, M.A. 	133-178
8. The God and Cult of Somnath—By M. L. Raychaudhuri, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT. 	179-188
9. A Sketch of Mohammad [•] Awfi and His Works—By Md. [•] Qamaruddin, M.A. 	189-194
10. The Mughal Navy and its Weakness—By Atul Chandra Roy, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.) 	195-202
11. History of Mewār from the Earliest Times to 1303 A.D.—By G. C. Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. ..	203-264

Experiments in the Technique of

Recent English Verse

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The technique of English poetry in the twentieth century is undergoing revolutions not only in its subtle psychological and physiological aspects of attitude and method respectively, but also in its purely physical and morphological aspects of anatomy and structure, language and rhythm. The multiplicity of experiments has not yet been distinctly regularized into constructive channels nor have they crystallized into tangible effects. Through the mist and turmoil of these innovations one may observe only a feverish impatience with the traditional forms and conventions, sometimes degenerating into a mere cult of clever word-patterns. The restlessness of spirit and the craze for superficial brilliance have even resulted in an inherent maladjustment of ideas and emotions, and of both to modes of expression.

Words being the ultimate units of language, poetic diction is being freely experimented on. Both Victorian "purple phrase" and Pater's choice word have been discarded as bourgeois and artificial, and the vocabulary of verse heads, on the one hand, towards the old Wordsworthian naturalness and simplicity, and on the other, towards a new wider process of democratization. Language which was so long tabooed as unclean has now been enfranchised to supply the poet with a powerful instrument for realistic expression. The new artist aiming at lighting up obscure, neglected corners of life, it is but natural to explore these lowly avenues, from the slum to the mine, from the sea to the trench, from the cocktail party to the operation theatre, and to dress the crude facts in their native phonetic costumes.

It is, however, difficult to set up any standard of natural speech for poetry. Different kinds of speech are natural for different speakers according to the people they are addressing and their attitude to them. At least they are conventionally natural, and all language is convention. But there is no doubt about the pressing of languages from different sections of life into the service of literature. And the effects of colloquial and dialectal speech and technical language on conventional metres in recent poetry need closer study by grammarians of verse.

The process of naturalization of poetic medium in contemporary poetry starts with Rudyard Kipling. Portrayal of sailors, soldiers, and all sorts of unrefined people comes in their normal rough, unpolished speech, stuffed with "jingoism" of Tomnies and nautical colloquialisms, e.g.,

"Kabul town is sun and dust—
Blow the bugle, draw the sword—
I'd ha' sooner *drowneded fust*
'Stead of 'im beside the ford."
(*Ford O'Kabul River*)

* * *

"Her rigging was rought with clotted drift
that drives in a Northern breeze,
Her sides were clogged with lazy weed
that spawns in the Eastern seas.
Light she rode in the rude *tide-rip*,
to left and right she rolled,
And the skipper sat on the *scuttle-butt*
And stared at an empty hold."
(*The Rhyme of the Three Captains*)

* * *

"You won't have no mind for *slingers*,
— — — — —
'course it's blocked the blommin' gangway
cheer, O cheer the 'Orse Guards
Watchin' tender o'er us."
(*'Birds of Prey' March*)

* * *

"We warn from disaster the mercantile master
Who takes in high Dudgeon our life-saving role,
For every one's grouching at *Docking and Dowsing*
(*The North Sea Patrol*)

The outrageous boldness of language initiated by Kipling has reached its culmination in Masfield's verse in the next generation.

He pushes the theory of natural diction to its logical extreme. The Lake-Poet of the Last Century, professing to write in the language of the common people, used rustic speech with artistic selection and restraint, even with a mixture of conventional literary diction. The London poet of the present century, throwing up the dregs of society, reproduces the gutter-speech of the city under-dogs in all its colloquial crudity and gross obscenity with the faithfulness of phonographic recording. The drunken brawl and foul curses of the raging combatants in the boxing fight in *The Everlasting Mercy* are hotly projected in elliptical outbursts, e.g.,

"I'll bloody him a bloody fix,
I'll bloody burn his bloody ricks."

So in *Dauber* and other sea poems nautical terms and slang expressions are introduced most freely:

"They reached the *crojick* yard, which buckled, buckled
Like a thin whalebone to the topsail's strain."

(*Dauber*)

* * *

"They frapped the cringled *crojick's* icy pelt;
In frozen bugle and *bunt* they made it fast."

(*Dauber*)

* * *

"Get out, you *heekapoota*! shut the door!
You *coo-lyaura*, what are you waiting for?"

(*Dauber*)

* * *

"'It's rummy rig of a *guffy's* yarn, 'n' the
juice of a rummy note,
But if you buries a corp at night, it takes
'n' keep afloat."

(*Burial Party*)

* * *

"He lolled on a *bollard*, a sun-burned son of the sea
With ear-rings of brass and a jumper of *dungaree*,
'N' many a queer lash-up have I seen', says he."

(*Sing a song o' shipwreck*)

The anti-traditional tendency in poetic diction is also reflected in poets of the Eliot group. Their reaction against conventional language bids not for simplicity and naturalness but for greater complexity and uniqueness issuing from intellectual richness and individual sensibility. Snippets from the classics; snatches of foreign languages not simply European, like French, German, or Italian, but even oriental, like Sanskrit or Chinese; subtle allusions

to ancient mythology of Greece, Egypt, India; pedantic references to sciences like Biology and Anthropology, Economics and politics and far-fetched comparisons and metaphors, make the diction all the more heavy. The interest of contemporary literature in Psychoanalysis has produced a direct effect on the diction of recent poetry by releasing a whole world of indecent words and unpleasant images, violently heaved into the sunlight and ventilated freely. Even crude commercial and technical expressions are profusely smuggled to produce the realistic effect and atmosphere.

In Cecil Day Lewis' Poem "*The Magnetic Mountain*", the First Dependant in Section 7 says:

"Am I alone to stand
Outside the natural economy?
Pasteurise mother's milk,
Spoon out the waters of comfort in Kilogrammes,
Let love be elixir, let creation's pulse
Keep Greenwich time, guard creature
Against creator, and breed your supermen!
But not for me . . . "

The Second Dependant's speech is scarcely less free in diction and imagery:

"Here we inoculate with dead ideas
Against blood-epidemics, against
The infection of faith and the excess of life.
Our methods are up-to-date; we teach
Through head and not by heart,
Language with gramophones and sex with charts,
Prophecy by deduction, prayer by numbers."

* * *

"Oh subterranean fires, break out!
Tornadoes, pity not
The petty bourgeois of the soul,
The middlemen of God!
Who ruins farm and factory
To keep a private mansion
Is a bad landlord, he shall get
No honourable mention."

(Section 12)

Professor Jeans spills the beans
Dean Inge tells you a thing
A man in a gown gives you the low-down
A man with a beard says something weird."

(Section 19)

All sorts of weird things in queer language are thus spouted by the poets. Section 21 makes a violent, almost profane, use of scientific ideas, and terminology:

"God is a proposition,
And we that prove him are his priest, his chosen.

.....

God is an electrician,
And they that worship Him must worship Him
In ampere and in volt."

And here is Edith Sitwell vulgarizing poetry with political wrangling and a much-abused term:

The world was made for the British bourgeoisie,
They are its Swiss Family Robinson;
Nothing exists which the British bourgeoisie
Does not understand,
The British bourgeoisie
Is not born
And does not die."

(Edith Sitwell: *Argonaut and Juggernaut*)

No less daring than those in diction are the experiments in syntax, orthography, and punctuation, not only in poetry but even in recent prose. To avoid common-placeness rules of grammar and syntactical order are sacrificed even at the cost of logical coherence and comprehensibility. Even if parts are understood all right, the thing as a whole becomes unco-ordinated and unintelligible.

Here is a complete poem by Ezra Pound:

"Papyrus
Spring . . .
Too long . . .
Gongula . . .

It is absolutely unintelligible to the average man, and without the cultural equipment and classical training of an Ezra Pound, he is helpless. And in these last lines of T.S. Eliot's "Hollow Men", so much admired by Dr. I. A. Richards, the incoherency of the thought-process in modern poetry baffles the reader:

"Between the desire
And the spasm
Between the potency
And the existence
Between the essence
And the descent
Falls the Shadow.
For thine is the Kingdom.

For thine is Life
 For thine is the . . .
 This is the way the world ends
 This is the way the world ends
 This is the way the world ends
 Not with a bang but a whimper."

The thought track the poet's mind follows is not only irregular and intricate but very jumpy in the shifting of associations.

Freedom with grammar and colloquial liberty are equally marked in D. H. Lawrence's experiments. In the following he freely uses the dialect language, though within the local dialect he takes no liberty with grammar:

"Sister, tha knows while we was on
 th' planks
 Aside o' t' grave, an 'th' coffin set
 On th' yellor clay, wi' th' white
 flowers top of it
 Waitin' ter be buried out o' th' wet."

(*Violets*)

In their eagerness to sacrifice conventional prejudices regarding grammar and syntax, metre and diction, the new experimenters in poetry even throw overboard logic and common-sense, and plunge into ridiculous jig-saw puzzles of words and phonetic symbols. Here is an entire poem:

Sunset

Stinging
 gold swarms
 upon the spire
 silver
 chants the litanies the
 great bells are ringing with rose
 the lewd fat bells
 and a tall
 wind
 is dragging
 the sea
 with
 dream
 —S

The total absence of punctuation marks, the discontinuity of ideas, and the riot of images, however soaked in an atmosphere, make us feel that poet "is pulling our leg", instead of producing poetry. The association value of the words is quite high, though neither do their sounds create any harmony, nor do the units of

EXPERIMENTS IN THE TECHNIQUE OF ENGLISH VERSE

sense cohere in any logical statement, however much they may co-operate in building up a pattern of sound-picture for the ear to project the mood that envelops the poet's mind. The poet appears to be trying to eliminate statement as essential or even relevant to poetry.

Extreme whimsicality in experimentation with technique manifests itself in an aggressive no-punctuation campaign. Periods and capitals have been most arbitrarily dispensed with as mediaeval tyrannies, with the result sometimes of confusion of syntactical relations. From Kipling through the Sitwells up to MacNeice verses have been printed with more or less daring without the use of stops and capitals.

" At a negro that wipes
His knife . . . dug there
a bugbear bellowing
Bone dared rear—
a bugbear bone that bellows white
As the ventriloquist sound of light,

* * *

" It rears at his head-dress of felted black hair
The one humanity clinging there—
His eyeless face whitened like black and white bones
and his beard of rusty
brown grass cones."

(Edith Sitwell: *Gold Coast Customs*)

Any non-conformity to the syntax of standard literary prose is not, however, to be taken as an innovation, for syntax after all depends on the character of the particular piece of composition. The syntax of conversation differs from that of a formal address. And it would be hard to say what is the syntax of one's private thoughts, may be, James Joyce could tell. And the syntax of a verse or prose writing may be related to any of these or to other contexts.

The spirit of rebellion against traditionalism exerts itself most potently in experiments in poetic cadence and movement. The faith that music is the natural garb and added charm of poetry and that every kind of verse should have a distinctive rhythm to harmonize with and support its thought wave, seems to be shaken in the *melée*.

The above conclusion is not, however, strictly and universally applicable to all the poets of the new generation. Edith Sitwell, for instance, in much of her verse uses music, though not the traditional tunes of poetry, constantly and expressively. Cecil Day-Lewis, Louis MacNeice, T. S. Eliot have shown great

dexterity in their rhythms. Eliot's transitions from verse to prose rhythms and back are closely related to the movements of his thought.

But the new poets are antitraditional in their verse technique in the sense that they are mostly engaged in re-educating their emotions into new patterns to suit new times. They, therefore, avoid traditional rhythms, which have the power of subduing the emotion to patterns founded on values which no longer work. T. S. Eliot to some extent and the 'New Signatures' group more explicitly, are more concerned to bring the human spirit to terms with changing circumstance. And this readjustment is reflected in their shifts in poetic rhythms and verse patterns.

Only one section of contemporary poets, the symbolists and mystics, seems to have recognized the musical value of verse. They retain rhythm as a medium of expression. Through select notes, as through choice images they seek to convey the elusive music and the magic vision which their souls alone have experienced. The life of the world is realized through its voice, music, a marvellous fluting with vowels and play on consonant sounds.

Yeats' lyrical plays and poems have the elfin music of celtic mysticism. The metre of *The Stolen Child*, for instance has a plaintive melody fit for the song of a faery who lures away a human child:

"Come away, O Human child!
To the waters and the wild
With a faery, hand in hand,
For the world's more full of weeping than you can
understand." s

A. E. listens enraptured to the music of the spheres, echoed in the shouting of children on the shore, and re-echoed in his own heart, which finds adequate expression in the solemn music of his lines:

"The children were shouting together
And racing along the sands,
And glimmer of dancing shadows,
A dove-like flutter of hands.
"The stars were shouting in heaven.
The sun was chasing the moon:
The game was the same as the children's,
They danced to the self-same tune."

Yeats and A. E. can write with traditional music, because they seek values inherent in the human spirit, independent of circumstance, and their symbolism is connected with this attitude.

Apart from the few mystics, the generality of the new poets

refuse to recognize any essential relation between music and poetry. Abandoning the splendid orchestration of their predecessors, the Victorians, they play on muted strings without accompaniment, and write 'prose poetry' hardly distinguishable from sloppy prose but for being cut up into lines of uneven lengths.

"When a man goes out into his work
he is alive like a tree in spring
he is living, not merely working.

* * *

When the Hindus weave thin wool into long,
long lengths of stuff

With their thin dark hands and their
Wide dark eyes and their still souls absorbed
They are like slender trees putting forth leaves,
a long white web of living leaf,
the tissue they weave,
and they clothe themselves in white as a tree
clothes itself in its own foliage."

(D. H. Lawrence: *Work*)

Some, not content with an attitude of indifference, in deliberate opposition to the convention of sweetness associated with verse movement sing a chorus which they do not care to synchronize. Much of the poetry of the new school of Eliot, Pound, Sitwells, and MacNeice has a racy, syncopated jazz rhythm, an orchestral variety of sound without any harmony at all.

"What will happen to us, planked and panelled
with jazz?

Who go to the theatre where a blackman
dances like an eel,

Where pink thighs flash like the spokes of a
wheel, there we feel

That we know in advance all the jog-trot
and the cake-walk jokes,

All the bumfun and the gags of the
comedians in boaters and toques,

And the tricks of the virtuosos
who invert the usual--.

(Louis MacNeice: *An Eclogue for Christmas*)

The disharmony here between the jazz music, the feeling, and the whole drift of the poem is neither naive nor tentative, but deliberate. In one breath it illustrates and condemns the rhythm of modern urban life.

The most important concrete development out of the varied experimentations in poetic form today is the emergence of Free

Verse. It has come to stay, its practitioners having crossed the period of diffidence and its readers having accepted the new mode as a regular verse feature. It is a bid for complete liberation from traditional verse forms, not simply relaxation from the tyranny of metre, but a total break from worn-out poetic clichés, though much of conventional verse is still quite alive and serviceable. A few of the old verse patterns are modified at will; and the rest of the accumulated treasure of classical and later evolved prosody is simply dropped overboard.

Free verse does not simply offer a mode of expression suitable for the reflection of the 20th century mind torn by two global wars and threatened by atomic annihilation, but represents a phase of the wider movement of the age, stimulated by modern science and the rise of democratic institutions, for freedom from custom and authority in religion, art, and literature, as in society, state, and morals. It echoes the personal idiosyncrasies and emotional chaos of particular authors and through them the anarchy in the soul of the whole race in its vital reactions to the experiences of modern life.

In so far as it attempts to bring poetic rhythm nearer to that of natural speech, Free Verse answers for our age the old controversy whether it is at all necessary for the poet to confine himself to an exclusive technique sharply differentiated from normal language. It is free, spontaneous, unadorned and unarranged as the thoughts coming to the mind, prompted by instinct or impulse, or guided by association. Advocates of free verse claim that there is something in the mere framing of a verse, in the mere sound of it in the ear, that throws the practitioner of conventional verse into an artificial frame of mind. Therefore they refuse to frame it.

Though irregularities in verse form of English poetry in the second half of the last century showed certain elements which approached the essential features of Free Verse, its vogue in the present age owes its inspiration primarily to the French model of *Pers libre* and to a lesser extent to Walt Whitman's poetry in America. In France the process of liberation of verse was carried out in stages: first, irregularity in the length of the lines in Varhaeren's later poetry; then, relaxation of structural rigidity sought through variation of the rhythm by arbitrary modification of feet and total rejection of rhyme by Gustave Kahn and Mallarmé; later, development of a new rhythm, characteristic yet regular, in the hand of Claudel; and finally, destruction for its own sake, making verse **amorphous** and formless, completed by the moderns, Guillaume Apollinaire downward. These later examples had a

degrading influence on the English imitators, who, in the name of boldness and freedom, ran into hopeless chaos and unintelligible jumble of words in odd-length lines.

The French model, however, served only to give a start to Free Verse in English poetry. Its progress in England was slow and intermittent until a fresh and stronger impetus came from across the Atlantic. Rightly speaking, it is with Walt Whitman that Free Verse came into its own and found a wide, general following. His successes and failures in this new mode, unmetrical and unrhymed, have wielded a greater moulding force for English imitators than the *tour de force* of the earlier French pioneers. Those who have patterned their Free Verse after Whitman's have been more successful in their experiments than those who have had the French example in view. The English temper, essentially conservative, felt ill at ease in the spirit of total negation of the French *vers libristes*. So when Whitman offered a happy blend of irregular verse and prose, even with occasional rhymes, the English Muse found comfort in readily shifting to his mode which, if deprived of the emotional effect of rhymes because of their wide separation, at least had an ample compensation of a sustained musical quality secured through an unmistakable and distinct rhythm which the most unaccustomed ear does not fail to catch.

Considerable as the influence has been of the French poets and of Walt Whitman on the English writers of Free Verse, its advent, however slow, may be traced in the gradual deviations from the conventional discipline of metre and rhyme and in feeble protests against traditional prosody, in late Victorians: in adventurous spirits like Stevenson, in liberals like Meredith, even in a classicist like Matthew Arnold.

Though by his sympathies and advocacies he is a staunch classicist, and though *The Vision of the Strayed Reveller* deals with a classical theme, is full of classical imagery, and the lines possess more or less regularly two stresses each, Matthew Arnold casts the poem into a completely antitraditional unrhymed lyric verse, easy and unpretentious, approaching in tone and structure Free Verse of a much later age. A youth who has strayed into Circe's palace and drunk of the magic cup, pictures, in a trance, to Ulysses and the enchantress the view of the gods languidly enjoying the varied spectacle of human life on the earth below:

“The gods are happy.
They turn on all sides
Their shining eyes,
And see below them

The earth and men.

"They see the Heroes
 Sitting in the dark ship
 On the foamless, long-heaving,
 Violet sea,
 At sunset nearing
 The Happy Islands."

The influence of the votaries of *vers libre* in France touched the modern English poets from as early a figure as Robert Louis Stevenson. Though scarcely out of the Victorian era with its rigid conventions as much in form as in theme, he had the foresight to see in the revolutionary innovations of the younger generation of poets in France sufficient indications of the exploitation of the unused possibilities of language in the discarding of all traditional regularities in rhyme and metre. His experiments in Free Verse, as sampled in the following passage, can stand in dignity and power beside the best productions of its kind in the twentieth century:

"A child
 Curious and innocent,
 Slips from his Nurse, and rejoicing
 Loses himself in the fair.

"Thus, thro' the World,
 Seeing, feeling and knowing
 Goes Man, till at last,
 Tired of experience, he turns
 To the friendly and comforting breast
 Of the old nurse, Death."

Though the lines have three stresses each, and though some sort of rhythm emerges from the expectation of the three beats, the reader feels the approach of the new way in the irregularities in the length of the lines and in the number of syllables.

Walter Pater seems to have been touched too by the same spirit:

"She is older than the rocks among which she sits;
 Like the Vampire,
 She has been dead many times,
 And learned the secrets of the grave;
 And has been a diver in deep seas,
 And keeps their fallen day about her;
 And trafficked for strange webs with Eastern merchants."

(*Mona Lisa*)

Though later editors cast this in verse form, it was originally written by the author as prose.

From Arnold's, Stevenson's and Pater's occasional feeling their way towards liberation from conventional metrical patterns it was but a natural step to Gerard Manley Hopkins' bolder experiment in prosody, which marked a distinct approach to the finished Free Verse of recent times. Though published by Dr. Bridges late in the second decade of the present century, (though he knew Hopkins' work much earlier), Hopkins' poetry in Sprung Rhythm was composed in the second half of the nineteenth.

The new technique is developed by full freedom taken with the old prosodic ingredients of foot, stress, and stanza. First, there is a deliberate mixture of different kinds of conventional feet: the running rhythms of English verse, Trochee and Dactyl, are often blended, either being dominant; and Spondee, a common foot in speech rhythm, is also freely employed. Secondly, stress is arbitrarily shifted, separating or more frequently bringing closer accented syllables. Shifting stress from accented to unaccented syllables results in the so-called 'reversed foot'; and its constant repetition makes the ear of the reader conscious of a distinct rhythm running parallel to the main rhythm, producing an effect similar to that of counterpoint in music, where one or more subsidiary strains, quite different in quality, flow simultaneously with the fundamental tune. Lastly, the conventional poetic stanzas of uniform quantity are replaced by verse-paragraphs of irregular lengths.

Sprung Rhythm is defended on ground of naturalness: for its natural evolution from normal speech rhythm and tradition of verse in England, and for its natural adaptability to the requirements of poetic expression. It comes simple and natural to the ear, already accustomed to irregularities in natural speech, ordinary conversation, and everyday written prose, as also in nursery rhymes, and weather saws. The aesthetic value of country ballads and juvenile verse is recognized and fully utilized. Thus it augments the naturalizing process for poetic rhythm by adopting the tunes of natural speech, which, with all its irregularity, demands far less strain on the part of the audience as of the speaker than the artificially uniform rhythm of conventional metre.

Sprung Rhythm is based on the natural stresses of voice speaking in English. Hopkins' stresses follow those of natural speech, though his vocabulary and syntax may not always conform to those of natural speech. Perhaps they express personal thought, of a certain emotional quality, at a stage before it is normally communicated to any particular listener. In fact, this distinctive

rhythm is inherent in the Anglo-Saxon temperament *all through*, and has remained implicit in all English poets through the ages. It dominated Old English verse which had stress centres and was carried along by alliteration. It may as well be regarded as a natural development out of the running rhythms of traditional prosody; for, when the weak terminations of running rhythms, Dactyl and Trochee, drop off along with the evolution of the language, the stresses come closer and the rhythm is sprung.

Sprung Rhythm, however, does not compel the poet to use the simplicity of natural speech. Actually in G. M. Hopkins' the rhythm alone seems to be natural. His vocabulary and syntax are often unlike those of natural speech, however they may reproduce the poet's inner monologue.

Sprung Rhythm has increased power of communication for poetry by aiding and harmonizing with language and sense. There comes greater flexibility, flexibility of foot by variation in the number of unaccented syllables, one stressed syllable taking up one, two, three and practically any number of slack syllables placed whimsically backward and forward; as also flexibility of the overall rhythm by changing at will the length of the verse-paragraphs and the employment of counter-point rhythm. And yet the rhythm does not fall sloppy and broken at any stage, since at the weaker points of the rhythm the reader is carried over on the sustaining wings of alliteration, and the verse runs over line-ends with a remarkable speed.

In mental atmosphere too, as in physical phonetic value, Sprung Rhythm fits in with the feeling-curve and works for all-round freshness. The easily handled rise and fall of the wave of verbal music follows closely the meandering course of emotion. The counterpoint rhythm may be profitably employed to reflect in the medium a sudden change in atmosphere, excitement or despair. Thus rhythm itself serves as a creation—medium, as an additional opportunity for expression. The poet's imagination finds a congenial atmosphere in the mere addition of syllables and shifting of stresses. And the discarding of the normal prosodic features like regular rhyme gives a touch of freshness.

Here comes rhymes at odd places in the line or on words or syllables to which we are not accustomed. There come too rearrangement of grammatical relations, and heedless displacement of syntactical order. The diversion in rhythm and atmosphere relieves monotony, that haunts and tires the reader in traditional metrical verse. The rhythm keeps pace with the emotional wave. The relation of the rhythm to the emotion is not lost at any point.

Though deviations from traditional poetic forms began with

the later Victorians, it is in the present century, especially since the first World War, that Free Verse was widely practised and advocated in England. Among the major contemporary poets T. S. Eliot, D. H. Lawrence, Ezra Pound, and Aldous Huxley are *vers librists*. Among the minor figures Sitwells, brothers and sisters, Charlotte Mew, Ford Madox Huffer and many others are more or less successful with their experiments. With a group of the War poets Free Verse is the regular and favourite literary fashion.

And it has not only been largely experimented upon, but defended by the practitioners themselves in critical prose. And the strongest argument in their advocacy has been the harmony of this new literary form with the inner spirit and nature of contemporary life. The mind of the individual poet is to be tuned to the larger rhythm of the national life of the people, and his subject as well as technique or to be free expression and echo thereof. Free Verse secures exactly this spiritual concurrence. Since modern life, disturbed by war abroad and at home, and torn by conflicts within one's heart and soul, has a distinctive rhythm, quick, animated and forceful, and yet broken, restless and irregular, the speed and lawlessness of Free Verse completely render the abundant life and wild flow of this larger rhythm. The *vers librists* claim to be the fit spokesmen of the new age. Eliot, though he denies that he writes Free Verse and doubts whether there is such a thing, is still classed with *vers librists*. And Pound, though clearly expressing contempt for the age, nevertheless reflects the age through this very contempt and through the rhythm of his verse.

T. S. Eliot as one of the most powerful writers of the new generation is a true representative of the age in his subject, spirit, and form alike. The poignancy of spirit with which he indicates the disintegration of the old social order under the stress of the new industrial and capitalistic developments, and the amorphousness of the Free Verse in which he pours his numbers, both fall in perfectly with the broken rhythm of modern life. The versification is marked by a complete lack of formal eloquence and prosodic patterns. "Queer, haunting broken, almost furtive numbers which are for ever rising towards the climax of classic eloquence and are for ever falling back before they have achieved it—are scattered into fragments, dismembered into snatches, as if they were themselves disenchanted of the possibility of all achievement anywhere, any more on the whole earth". The method of jotting down disjointed sequence of ideas in stray words strewn in an apparently chance order, and the frequent reunion of such sequences on the

tracks of association, seeks but to apply to literary expression the psychological principle of contrary waves of the mind at a given moment. The wild shapelessness of verse is a faithful reflection in poetic form of the mood of nescience dominating modern life.

In *The Waste Land*, the 20th century epic of despair on Europe, the jerky, confused structure of the Free Verse successfully echoes the deep pessimism of the poet in his vision of the disintegration of the Celestial City. The illusion of the vast fabric of history, "distorted by the cruel contrast between the fancy-coloured romantic past and the stark reality of a bewildering present", is completely caught by the halty, yet feverish, gait of the Free Verse. To Eliot, however, there is a deeper reality in the past because its values were more coherent and perceptive than those in the incoherent present:

"What is that sound high in the air
Murmur of maternal lamentation
Who are those hooded hordes swarming
Over endless plains slumbering in cracked earth
Ringed by the flat horizon only
What is the City over the mountains
Crack and reforms and bursts in the violent air
Falling towers
Jerusalem Athens Alexandria
Vienna London
Unreal."

"The dwindling music of the rhythm, the shortening of the lines, and the syntactical confusion caused by the total absence of punctuation marks suggest the process of dissolution of the Celestial City falling into pieces as the broken parts of the cities of this world."

At the beginning of the Second Part the inner conflict of modern life, through the portrait of a rich woman, its utter vacuity and sense of futility, its worklessness and listlessness of spirit, against the background of a grinding existence of the poor, are conveyed by equally restless lines, wavering in length, repeating, lingering, and suddenly breaking off, and pitted all over with stops, three-dots and interrogation marks:

"My nerves are bad to-night. Yes, bad.
Stay with me. — —
Speak to me.
Why do you never speak? Speak. — —
What are you thinking of?
What **thinking**? — — What? — —
I never **knew** what you are thinking. Think." — —

'I think we are in rats' alley. —
 Where the dead men lost their bones'.
 "What is that noise?"
 'The wind under the door'.
 "What is that noise now? What is the wind doing?"
 'Nothing again nothing'.
 "Do you know nothing?"
 Do you see nothing
 Do you remember — —
 Nothing?
 What shall I do now?
 What shall I do?"
 'I shall rush out as I am, and walk the street — — —
 With my hair down, so'.
 "What shall we do to-morrow?"
 What shall we ever do?"
 'The hot water at ten. — — —
 And if it rains, a closed car at four'.

The note of uneasiness and weariness in the flatness of common life, if not rising to a higher pitch of despair and frustration, is all the same echoed by the naked language of D. H. Lawrence's Free Verse:

"Why does the thin grey strand
 Floating up from the forgotten
 Cigarette between by fingers,
 Why does it trouble me?"

(D. H. Lawrence: *Sorrow*)

In easy, masterly handling of Free Verse Ezra Pound comes only second to T. S. Eliot. In subject-matter and literary sympathy and temperament he looks back to the pre-Renaissance mediaeval literature of the Troubadour School; but in technique he belongs to the 20th century, using Free Verse of the most finished type. In smoothness of manner it seems to be patterned after Whitman's verse rather than on the earlier French model.

There are, however, plenty of variations and irregularities in the verse to echo the tone of bitter irony from which few poets of our century have been able to escape:

"Empty are the ways,
 Empty are the ways of this land
 And the flowers
 Bend over the heavy heads
 They bend in vain.
 Empty are the ways of this land
 Where love

Walked once, and now does not walk
But seems like a person just gone!"

D. H. Lawrence, in the front rank of rebels in 20th century English literature, also contributes his share in the advancement of Free Verse. His power of bold expression of the crudest facts from reality, which gives to his novels and stories a rare strength and force, finds a very fit poetic medium in the raw natural speech rhythm of Free Verse, untrammelled by any artificial pattern of prosody. His Free Verse has the sweeping force of Whitman's poetry, and the fluidity and freshness of Hopkins' Sprung Rhythm. It is especially unconventional in poems dealing with natural objects and phenomena. The silent vegetation of the world of flora and the irrational living of the realm of fauna are rendered through the quiet progress of Free Verse in his poems on 'Trees' and 'Creatures':

"Fig-Trees, weird fig trees
Made of thick smooth silver,
Made of sweet, untarnished silver in the
sea southern air--
I say untarnished, but I mean opaque—
Thick, smooth-fleshed silver, dull only
as human limbs are dull."

(Bare Fig Trees)

"Who gave us flowers?
Heaven? The white God?
Nonsense!
Up out of hell,
From Hades;
Infernal Dis!
Jesus the God of flowers---?
Not He.
Or sun-bright Apollo, him so musical?
Him neither.
Who then?
Say who.
Say it---and it is Pluto,
Dis,
The dusk one,
Proserpine's master.
Who contradicts?"

(Purple Anemones)

"When **did** you start your tricks,
Monsieur?

What do you stand on such high legs for?
 Why this length of shredded shank,
 You exaltation?"

(*The Mosquito*)

"But oh, fish, that rock in water,
 You lie only with the waters;
 One touch.
 No fingers, no hands and feet, no lips;
 No tender muzzles,
 No wistful bellies,
 No loms of desire,
 None."

(*Fish*)

There is also no lack of Free Verse of the vigorous type, as, for instance, that which powerfully conveys the roll and rush of waves dashing against the shore in *The Sea*:

"You, you are all unloving, loveless you:
 Restless and lonely, shaken by your own moods,
 You are celibate and single, scorning a comrade even,
 Threshing your own passions with no woman for the
 threshing floor,
 Finishing your dreams for your own sake only,
 Playing your great game around the world, alone,
 Without playmate, or helpmate, having no one to
 cherish,

No one to comfort, and refusing any comforter."

Consistent success in Free Verse in English poetry of the last half century has been attained by the American woman poet, Hilda Doolittle, writing under the initials H.D. Having imbibed an unconscious inspiration from Whitman, she has really developed a personal rhythm, subdued and tender, beautifully suited to her temperament of mellowed mysticism and imagism. In her early poems she scarcely employs rhyme, but writes in a charming finished prose, moulding her ideas and images into sequences of word-groups:

"Whirl up, sea —
 Whirl your pointed pines,
 Splash your great pines on our rocks,
 Hurl your green over us
 Cover us with your pools of fu — —"

(*Oread*)

The jerky nature of the Free Verse suggests, dropping hints, rather than elaborates a picture. The rapid succession of snapshots requires a highly sensitive mind to catch the outlines of the

individual pictures, and then a powerful imagination to develop and enlarge the impressions. In a piece of landscape painting like the following the pauses at the end of short lines create a soft pulsating rhythm, beautifully falling in with the temperament of the poet:

"In my garden
the winds have beaten
the ripe lilies;
in my garden, the salt
has wilted the first flakes
Of young narcissus,
and the lesser hyacinth,
and the salt has crept
Under the leaves of the white hyacinth."

Of the many experimenters in Free Verse in contemporary English poetry only a few have, through serious efforts, succeeded in evolving distinctive techniques of their own. They have demonstrated that without sacrificing the discipline, the precision, and the musical felicity of regular metres, Free Verse is capable of achieving new effects. In place of a conventional metre a definite rhythmical current may be as pleasing and impressive, as forceful and sweeping. Thus Free Verse has lent itself amply to the long, epic type of verse composition, providing dignity and grandeur, as in the hand of T. S. Eliot, as much as to the shorter lyric and dramatic monologue, making a new music and charm, as in the hands of Lawrence, Sitwells, and innumerable other poets of the age.

But such successes are rare compared with the many failures, and on the whole Free Verse is not successful in England. The number of poets who have adapted Free Verse with any remarkable facility and ease is limited. Most of the experimenters have simply jotted down odds and ends of stray thoughts, without developing a characteristic technique of their own with well-balanced sentences and a distinct rhythm. In the hands of poets with weaker control over their art, Free Verse, because of the very latitude it allows, often misses the right pitch, being unnaturally tuned too high or too low. Either it rides the high horse of pretentious rhetoric, as in D. H. Lawrence's lines:

"And if I never see her again?
I think, if they told me so,
I could convulse the heavens with my horror.
I think I should alter the system with my heart.
I think in my convulsion the skies would break."

Or, Free Verse descends into commonplace garrulity and low

gossip, as it often does in Aldous Huxley's and Sitwell's few experiments.

"At the house of Mrs Kinfoot
 Are collected
 Men and women
 Of all ages.
 They are supposed
 To sing, paint, or to play the piano.
 In the drawing-room
 The fireplace is set
 With green tiles
 Of an acanthus pattern.
 The black curls of Mrs Kinfoot
 Are symmetrical."

(Osbert Sitwell)

Even in the following extract, remarkable as it is for its strong dance-rhythm, tuned to the clash of cymbals or castavets, the movement is rather of violent prose than of regular poetry:

"Do you remember an Inn,
 Miranda?
 * * *
 And the 'Hip! Hop! Hap!
 Of the clap
 Of the hands to the twirl and the swirl
 Of the girl gone chancing,
 glancing,
 Dancing,
 Backing and advancing •
 Snapping of the clapper to the spin
 Out and in. — — —
 And the Ting, Tong, Tang of the guitar.'

(H. Belloc: *Tarantella*)

Robert Graves, summing up arguments for and against Free Verse in his critical volume *On English Poetry*, arrives at an unfavourable conclusion. The term Free Verse seems to him to be a misnomer; if it is verse, he holds, it cannot be truly free, and if it is truly free it cannot possibly come under the category of verse. Free Verse is an absurdity inasmuch as it cannot be free and poetic at the same time. The difficulty, in actual hearing of a recital, of detecting its distinction from and advantage over plain prose is a real one. It is doubted if Free Verse at all contains any reviving principle, or simply indulges in whimsical departures from customary rhythms at odd points, at different angles and in unbroken fields. Some would even believe that prosodic experi-

ments so late in the history of poetry are doomed to failure, and technical innovations will proceed only from eccentricity.

Free Verse, says G. K. Chesterton in his characteristic humour, is "no more a revolution in poetry than sleeping in a ditch is a revolution in architecture."

Sometimes there seems to be some confusion in the very conception of Free Verse. Any type of experimental deviation from conventional verse forms is loosely dubbed 'free verse'. The freedom of Free Verse really consists in a total disavowal of the very principle of sound-pattern as the basic necessity of verse structure.

Verse can be scanned only by the ear. If the ear can detect and be quite aware of a regular, recurring pattern of sound, on which the rhythm or sound effect of verse depends, then the verse is definitely to be accepted as metrical. The poet may deviate freely from the chosen pattern, but if the hearer's ear is clearly conscious of the existence of the pattern from which the poet is deviating, the verse will still be considered metrical. If, however, the poet deviates *continuously*, this will of course change the pattern of which the hearer is conscious. So long as the ear is made aware of the basic pattern from which deviations occur, the verse is metrical and not 'free'.

The sound-pattern in the verse structure of a language is decided by the phonetic character in the spoken form of the particular language. Thus, since Greek and Latin languages are spoken quantitatively, metrical feet in these languages are reckoned by the number of long and short syllables. And, though the terminology of prosodic scansion is drawn from Greek and Latin the rules of quantitative pattern for metrical feet cannot be applied strictly to the verse of any other language, ancient or modern, which is not pronounced in the quantitative way.

English is a language which is spoken accentually, not quantitatively. English has stress accent, stress taking the place of length. Thus 'regular' can be scanned as a dactyl, since its first syllable, though short, is stressed. On this principle, it is clear, the names of feet in classical metres are but roughly adjusted to English verse. And so in conformity to the character of spoken English, English verse is measured by the number of syllabic feet, with stress in the place of length, or by the number of stresses alone, irrespective of the number of syllables. Either way, if there is a regular pattern, whether based on syllabic feet or on the number of stresses to the line, the verse is to be considered 'metrical'.

Traditional English poetry from Chaucer downward follows the first principle, *namely*, the principle of syllabic feet with stress in place of length. In Anglo-Saxon poetry, in old English ballads,

in some of Matthew Arnold's poems like *Rugby Chapel*, and in most of Gerard Manley Hopkins' poetry, the second pattern is followed, with regularity in the number of stresses to the line, careless of the number of syllables. Still these are to be reckoned as metrical verses.

Hence it is rather confusing to equate 'free verse' with verse measured by stresses alone instead of by syllabic feet with stresses. Verse is free only when there is accepted no fixed standard to measure it by. 'Free Verse' is constructed without reference to any recurring sound pattern, whether of the syllabic or of the accentual type. In Free Verse every line, nay, each phrase, is to become an independent rhythmic unit in itself. Thus many of Stephen Spender's poems are in genuine Free Verse, since, in spite of parts running in iambic feet, there is no regular, recurring sound pattern discernible in the entire verse composition.

But though not in itself completely successful in England, Free Verse has had, in diverse ways indirect and remote, points of contact with various experiments on the structure and rhythm of contemporary English poetry. Quantitative verse was no doubt there from the days of Spenser and Gabriel Harvey. But it has recently in Bridges' hand, inspired by a study of the classics, received a reorientation in the wake of modern innovation of verse technique. So did Hopkins' Sprung Rhythm, evolved independently as it was, fall in line with the general tendency of structural shaking up of poetry. And the new kind of blank verse, used so profusely in recent proletarian poetry, can claim kinship with, if not owing allegiance to, Free Verse.

Quite successful is Dr. Robert Bridges' experiment on the prosodic technique of Quantitative Verse. Traditional English poetry from Chaucer downward has been accentual, controlled by the number and position of accents in the line. There is freedom in the number of syllables and hence of vowels, since the nature and number of feet vary, permitting thereby also variation in the time of utterance. Acephalous, di- and tri-syllabic feet, and mono- to Alexandrine metres, make for changing lengths of lines. But classical poetry, as, for instance, in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin, were based upon quantity, i.e. the relative duration of time in the utterance of different syllables and vowels, accent having been no consideration at all. Bridges' experiment seem to be an attempt to harmonize English pronunciation with classical quantitative metre. Quantity or period of time in utterance as a criterion for metrical structure is highly scientific. It is quite reasonable to balance a syllable containing a vowel that is long and sustained in pronunciation against two or more syllables with short, tripping

vowels. *In accentual verse too this thing is done in the phenomena explained away as catalectic and supernumerary or hypermetrical feet or in a heavily accented acephalous foot.*

John Masefield, Dr. Robert Bridges' successor in Poet-Laureateship, though fundamentally unlike his predecessor in the nature of his poetry, follows him in the matter of continuing, a tradition accepted in modern English. Herein is involved an element of contradiction in Masefield's verse. In his subject-matter and language Masefield is wholly modern, drawing his themes and heroes from his own experience of contemporary London, and using a vocabulary that has the rawness of the real life of sailors and drunkards. But the mould into which he casts such materials is thoroughly traditional and old, the mediaeval Rime Royal of the 14th century. In Chaucer's seven-lined stanza of "Canterbury Tales" Masefield finds a new a fit vehicle for his vigorous and sweeping narrative verse. This uniformity of verse pattern put into the lips of the underdogs of society strikes a note of incongruity not only in itself but also in the setting of similar poetry of contemporaries. The modern interest in lowly life has not simply raised the annals of the depressed masses to poetic use through an emotional elevation, but has led to a corresponding change in prosody. Pouring out polished numbers from the lips of tinkers and labourers would be a flagrant absurdity. But Masefield, though dealing with the lives of sailors and planters, and using a diction that closely approximates to the language of the forecandle, the farm-yard, and the tavern, employs the rather rigidly regular Chaucerian stanza. Somehow this does not fit in well with his theme and attitude. Other poets of the age, like W. W. Gibson, handling similar materials, have developed a kind of blank verse in which idiomatic and dialect speech forms are slightly modified to approximate roughly to the iambic base. Whereas normal blank verse is sought to be diversified by trochee, pyrrhic, and spondee, this new form is irregularly modulated by other types of feet like amphibrach, anapaest, and occasionally monosyllabic feet, so that their very unconventional mixture and jerky movement echo faithfully the rough and raw speech of the lowly people. Masefield no doubt employs the regular Rhyme Royal stanza, ideally adapted to narrative poetry, especially of the rapid type he writes, in its purest form for some of his verse tales like 'Dauber' and 'The Widow in Bye Street'. But in many others he softens the rigid exactitude of the Chaucerian form with slight variations to suit his temperament and purpose. Also Masefield's narrative verse does not glide with the easy, leisurely ~~pace~~ of Chaucer's lines, but rushes on with restless speed and ~~sweeping~~ force.

The 20th century English poets have not only evolved independent verse designs like Free Verse, or revived old prosodic patterns like Quantitative Verse, but also varied their poetic forms by adapting readymade models from the continent especially from France. In the past Chaucer and Spenser both adapted French verse forms into English. Chaucer wrote ballads imitated from France. The Rondeau was a common verse form in 19th century magazines. Still when the 20th century English poets were again in search of technical novelties they ransacked the same source. These foreign models however transplanted to the English poetic climate, retained their exotic character, and could not be well assimilated with the native stuff. Such revived adaptations from French verse forms were initiated by Swinburne towards the end of the last century, and transmitted to later poets like Andrew Lang and W. H. Henley, Oscar Wilde and Robert Bridges, Austin Dobson and Edmund Gosse.

The French verse forms which were most readily taken over by the English poets were the Ballade and the Rondeau, because of their musical effects achieved through intricate rhyme-schemes and charming refrains in repetition of entire lines and individual words. They combined flexibility with fixity in their forms. But when the English poets adopted them these verse forms had already lost much of their original freedom of movement in French and evolved regular patterns. So the English adaptations, in spite of occasional slight variations, had formal rigidity and stiffness. It appeared that the whole point of verse forms is their tricky, rigid patterns, intended solely as exhibitions of skill, irrespective of their relevancy to the thought wave or harmony with emotional atmosphere. The constant consciousness of an elaborate structure retarded free diffusion of imagination. There was even an unavoidable suggestion of *tour de force*, a deliberate exhibition of skill and over-refinement of phrasing. A complicated verse form like the Rondeau or the Ballade, not ballad, is usually adopted for giving an appearance of wit and grace to a trivial subject and for distracting attention from content to form, whereas for profound or impassioned utterance one would normally avoid such distraction. In the hands of their English adapters, however, the artificially rigid construction of these alien verse forms made them suitable vehicles to convey unusual feelings, like blighted passions, moods of disillusionment, and bitter regret. Their formality and refinement of structure did not fit in well with commonplace affairs and normal states of the mind.

The more stately ballad form was adapted by English poets from Chaucer down to Swinburne. At the close of the last century

and during the present the Rondeau with its variants had greater appeal for the new generations of poets in England who turned to France for verse designs. It has been accepted in both its varieties with distinct structures. The longer type consists of 15 lines: The first eight lines rhyme as abba aaab or occasionally as aabb aaab, and the ninth line is a refrain consisting of the first part of the first line; then follow five lines rhyming as aabba, followed by the same refrain. The shorter form consists of 12 lines: first comes a sestet rhyming as abba ab with a refrain consisting of the initial words of the first line; then follows a quatrain rhyming as abba with the same refrain. The two types are illustrated by Austin Dobson's two poems, *Clean Hands* and *To George H. Boughton, R.A.* respectively:

'Make this thing plain to us, O Lord!
 That not the triumph of the sword —
 Not that alone — can end the strife,
 But reformation of the life,
 But full submission to thy word!
 Not all the stream of blood outpoured
 Can Peace — the long-Desired — afford;
 Not tears of Mother, Maid or wife — — —
 Make this thing plain!
 We must root out our sins ignored,
 By whatsoever name adored;
 Our secret sins, that, ever rife,
 Shrink from the operating knife;
 Then shall we rise, renewed, restored — — —
 Make this thin plain?'

(*Clean Hands*)

'Spring stirs and wakes by holt and hill;
 In barren copse and bloomless close
 Revives the memory of the rose,
 And breaks the yellow daffodil.
 Look how the spears of crocus fill
 The ancient hollows of the snows,—
 Spring stirs and wakes.
 Yet what to you are months? At will
 For you the season comes or goes;
 We watch the flower that fades and blows,
 But on your happy canvas still
 Spring stirs and wakes!'

(*To George H. Boughton, R.A.*)

Sir Edmund Gosse has imitated plenty of verse forms from French poets, though he seems to be particularly indebted to

Leconte de Lisle to whom he has written some fine memorial stanzas. To him the Rondeau comes in its variation, the rondel, consisting of 10 to 14 lines, often with whole lines repeated. Generally he follows the technique of the foreign verse forms with exactitude. His poem, *After Anyte of Tegea*, has the length (14 lines) of a sonnet, consisting of two quatrains rhyming respectively as ab ab and as abba, and a sestet rhyming as babaab:

‘ Underneath the tablet rest
 Grasshopper by autumn slain,
 Since thine airy summer nest
 Shivers under storm and rain.
 Freely let it be confessed
 Death and slumber bring thee gain;
 Spared from winter’s fret and pain,
 Underneath this tablet rest.
 Myro found thee on the plain
 Bore thee in her lawny breast.
 Reared this marble tomb amain
 To receive so small a guest!
 Underneath this tablet rest
 Grasshopper by autumn slain.’

(*After Anyte of Tegea*)

Oscar Wilde, another Francophile, successfully adapts the French verse pattern of *Villanelle*. The whole poem consists of nineteen lines cut up into five tercets and a quatrain. All these six stanzas are connected by an intricate arrangement of only two rhymes. The first and the third verses of the first tercet are repeated alternately in the third verse of each of the other four tercets following, and these same two verses occur together at the end of the last strophe which thus becomes a quatrain. The verse arrangement is this: A₁ b A₂ abA₁ abA₂ abA₁ abA₂ abA₁ A₂. Wilde’s poem *Theocritus* is a good example of *Villanelle* adopted in English poetry:

“ O Singer of Persephone!	A ₁
In the dim meadows desolate	b
Dost thou remember Sicily?	A ₂
“ Still through the ivy flits the bee	a
Where Amaryllis lies in state;	b
O Singer of Persephone!	A ₁
“ Simaetha calls on Hecate	a
And hears the wild dogs at the gate;	b
Dost thou remember Sicily?	A ₂
“ Still by the light and laughing sea	a
Polypheme bemoans his fate;	b

O Singer of Persephone!	A ₁
"And still in boyish rivalry	a
Young Daphnis challenges his mate;	b
Dost thou remember Sicily?	A ₂
"Slim Lacon keeps a goat for thee.	a
For thee the jocund shepherds wait:	b
O Singer of Persephone!	A ₁
Dost thou remember Sicily?"	A ₂

The shortest and daintiest of such repeating French verse forms adapted in English is the *triolet*, employed quite successfully by Bridges in the following:

"When first we met we did not guess	a
That love would prove so hard a master	b
Of more than common friendliness	a
When first we met we did not guess.	a
'Who could foretell this sore distress.	a
This irretrievable disaster	b
When first we met? — we did not guess	a
That Love would prove so hard a master."	b

A Recent Criticism of the Foundations of Nicolai Hartmann's Ontology

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I

A system of thought, like a work with brick and mortar, has a foundation and a superstructure. It is the superstructure which attracts more attention, applause or censure. The foundation remains unnoticed. Yet it is the foundation which hides the secret sources of nourishment of the entire structure. This foundation consists of a group of basic concepts and assumptions which the thinker brings into play. The greatness of a thinker lies in the originality and strength of these concepts and assumptions. The mediocre build on nothing new.

Most of the attention which has recently been paid to Nicolai Hartmann's ontology has concentrated on the various branches of its widely ramified superstructure. The comparative neglect of the fundamentals has led either to an exaggerated applause or to an exaggerated censure.¹ People have found in his philosophy the most comprehensive 'system' of categories. Others confess complete lack of interest and complain of his superficial philosophical genius. Both these attitudes are born out of exclusive attention to the superstructure of his thought. A critical study of the foundation shows that Nicolai Hartmann can stimulate genuine philosophical analysis, and yet that his 'system' is not the best part of what he has left for us!

That the modal doctrine constitutes the innermost basis of Hartmann's thought has been most successfully demonstrated by Josef König, Hartmann's successor at Göttingen. König has attempted to canalise his own critical study of Nicolai Hartmann's

ontology in a novel creative line. It is this Hartmann-König controversy, which the present paper seeks to present. The controversy would throw light not only on the basis of Nicolai Hartmann's ontology, but on the basis of ontology in general.

II

How to get at the basis of Nicolai Hartmann's ontology? Let us sketch the superstructure, and then descend into the depths of the foundation.

Following the Aristotelian tradition, Hartmann takes ontology as the science of beings *as* beings. That is to say, ontology is concerned with what first makes beings beings. This something is in German "Sein", in Sanskrit "Sattā". The terms "Sein" and "Sattā" give rise to the illusion, as if, there is some entity or attribute corresponding to them, something over and above, may be, underlying or pervading the various beings. Hartmann rejects this thought. A science of beings as beings is therefore no science of such an entity or attribute as "Sein". On the other hand, it can only be a science which lays bare the various spheres of being along with their general and special categories and inter-categorical (hence, inter-sphere) relations. Hence, ontology becomes a doctrine of categories, a "Kategorienlehre".

There are two primary spheres of being: the real and the ideal. The real consists of the chain of temporal events. The structure of the real sphere is a stratification of various levels: the material, vital, psychical and the spiritual. The stratification consists of the relation of "founding". The higher level is "founded" on the lower. The lower provides the basis for the higher. The real sphere has its general categories, those which determine the entire sphere, irrespective of the differences of strata. Such categories are, for example, the modal categories. But each stratum of reality has also its own special categories. The relation in which two levels of reality stand to each other is concretely illustrated in the relation in which the categories of the two stand to each other. The inter-categorical relations thereby gain a new significance.

The ideal sphere consists of such elements as the 'essences' (compare Whitehead's 'eternal objects', Santayana's 'essences') and the mathematical entities on the one hand, and the values on the other. Nicolai Hartmann's uncompromising realism rejects any attempt at subjectivising. The ideal sphere has its own general

and special categories, just as there are also such categories as are common to the two primary spheres: the real and the ideal.

Besides the two primary spheres, there are two secondary spheres of being—the spheres of 'logic' and 'knowledge'. These are mid-way spheres inasmuch as they share the categories of both the primary spheres. (Compare Whitehead's 'hybrid' entities.)

To keep these primary and secondary spheres along with their general and special categories before the mind, in their distinctions as well as in their interrelations, is essential to the understanding of Nicolai Hartmann's ontology. Hartmann displays great acumen in drawing these distinctions and in keeping clearly apart what he considers to be distinct. Through these distinctions, he claims to have the clue in hand for avoiding many an error of the tradition.

The key to this entire discussion lies in the formulation of the nature of the ideal sphere. In setting aside what he calls the errors of tradition, Hartmann shows here his capacity at its best. We shall do best to catalogue the errors which Hartmann rejects and then pass on from this negative consideration to the more positive aspect of the situation.

1. The distinction between the ideal sphere and the real sphere is *not* the same as the distinction between Form and Matter. Neither is the ideal sphere a realm of mere Forms, nor is the real that of mere Matter. The idealities are also material in character and the real is also formed content. The Form-Matter distinction thus reappears within each of the two primary spheres and as such cannot be identified with the distinction between the spheres.

2. Neither is the real-ideal distinction identical with the distinction between 'Concretum' and Category. The ideal sphere does *not determine* the real as the categories determine the 'concretum'. On the other hand, within each sphere, the 'Concretum'-Category distinction reappears. There are real categories (i.e., categories of the real world) as well as ideal categories (i.e., categories of the ideal sphere). Further, the idealities possess a primary mode of being, being for themselves ("fuer-sich-sein"), whereas the categories have no independent mode of being, but *are only* in the 'concretum' which they determine or constitute.

3. Similarly, it is also wrong to identify the ideal with the *a priori* and the real with the *a posteriori*. The distinction between the *a priori* and the *a posteriori* is agnoseological distinction, a distinction between two modes of cognition, whereas we are here concerned with an ontological distinction, a distinction between modes of being. While the two pairs cannot be identified, neither can we claim an exact equivalence between the two. For, there can be *a priori* knowledge both of the real world (as in mathe-

mathematical physics) and of the ideal, whereas it is true that the real alone is apprehended *a posteriori*.

4. More plausible, but not any more tenable, is the identification of the real with "Dasein" (existence, or 'that') and of the ideal with the "Sosein" ('what'). The distinction between "Dasein" and "Sosein" is a distinction between the two *moments* of being and as such, should be kept apart from that between the *spheres*. The relation between the *moments* is conjunctive (that is to say, any particular being has *both* "Dasein" and "Sosein") whereas the relation between the *spheres* is disjunctive (that is to say, any particular being is *either* real or ideal). Ideal being, like the real, has its own "Dasein" and its own "Sosein".

5. There is another tradition, wrongly attributed to Plato² but first explicitly championed since Leibniz, according to which the ideal sphere is a realm of mere possibilities whereas the real is the world of actualities. To this the tradition adds as self-evident that the actual is a selection from the many possibilities, so that the real can be seen as an actualisation from amongst the ideal. This tradition arose historically, as Dr. Faust shows us*, in connection with the theological doctrine of creation and later on gained plausibility from the rise of abstract formal logic and of alternative systems of logic and geometry. Hartmann devotes much analysis and force of his language for setting aside this tradition and as we have said, one of the principal results of his modal analysis is to have provided us with an alternative conceptual scheme which demonstrates the illusory character of the self-evidence which this tradition claims on its own behalf. A brief summary of this modal analysis is of central importance for our purpose: —

Each sphere, according to Hartmann, has its own modal category. The real sphere has its own modes of possibility, actuality and necessity, just as the ideal sphere has its own modes. Meaning by 'Real-possibility' the mode of possibility in the real world and by 'Ideal-possibility' the mode of possibility in the ideal sphere, we could say that the two are *radically different* modes. By saying that they are 'radically different', we mean that Real-possibility and Ideal-possibility are *not* species of a common genus 'Possibility', as their names illusorily suggest. On the other hand, they are not only different 'possibilities', but are, *as possibilities*, different. 'Real-possibility' has meaning and significance only in connection with a real being, just as 'Ideal-possibility' is meaningful only in connection with an ideal being. Only a real being can have 'Real-possibility', whereas an ideal being alone can have 'Ideal-possibility'. The suggestion of a common genus is illusory, so that the term 'Possibility' becomes devoid of any meaning of its own.

The same can be said of 'Real-actuality' and 'Ideal-actuality', as well as of 'Real-necessity' and 'Ideal-necessity' (by construing these terms as in the case of the pair in the above paragraph).

We are at present concerned directly with the modes of actuality and possibility. 'Real-possibility' is to be defined as the completion of the series of conditions necessary for generating a real event. A real event X is then and only then possible (that is to say, 'real-possible') when the series of conditions required for X's coming into being is complete, i.e. when the completed series is given. 'Ideal-possibility' consists in compatibility, logical non-contradiction being a special case under it.

With this new conceptual scheme in hand, we readily begin to see through the illusion which lends support to the tradition. It is wrong to say that the ideal sphere is a realm of possibilities out of which the real is a selected actualisation. The ideal sphere has its own modes of possibility and actuality, just as the real world has its own. There are the modes of 'Ideal-actuality' and 'Real-possibility' which the tradition overlooks. And, the real-actual is an actualisation of 'Real-possibility', but not of 'Ideal-possibility'.

Neither in the real world nor in the ideal, is there 'mere' possibility, that is to say, possibility which is not actualised. In the real world, an event is possible only when the series of conditions is completely given. But when this series is complete, the event is also actual. That is to say, what is 'real-possible' is simultaneously, at that very instant, also 'real-actual'. Similarly, in the ideal sphere actuality being only a secondary mode, a mere shadow of the mode of possibility, what is 'ideal-possible' is already 'ideal-actual'. As such, the usual notion that the range of possibility is wider than that of actuality is false. It does not hold good of either of the primary spheres of being!

By rejecting the above errors of tradition, Hartmann gives a new form to the two-world theory which ever since Plato has been a recurrent philosophical motive. This novelty may be stated with regard to the problem of the relation between the two spheres.

The alternatives in terms of which the tradition of philosophy has formulated its answer are the following:—

Either, the relation is one of *determination*, the precise nature of the determination being conceived mainly in two ways. The ideal sphere may determine the real world as the categories determine their concretum, they constitute. Or, the ideal sphere may be the *telos*, the perfection towards which the real aspires. Both forms of determination—whether categorial or teleological—are rejected by Hartmann as distortions of the situation. The identi-

fication of idealities with categories has already been shown to be erroneous. Teleological determination again is out of place in a purely ontological situation. The ideal and the real are two primary spheres of being and there is no degree of being, no scale of perfection in order of being. Not only is the ideal sphere not more perfect than the real, but one can rather say the reverse, if one can at all speak of more or less perfection. Hartmann does suggest a reversal of the usual judgment of value by demonstrating the superiority (?) of the real world over the ideal.

Or, the real may be conceived as being a *selection* from the ideal. This again may be supplemented by the theological appeal to a God who chooses the best of all possible worlds. The above modal doctrine has already exposed the fallacy underlying this.

With this, room is left only for a phenomenological approach. To talk of determination—causal, categorial or teleological—is to indulge in speculation. Phenomenologically, we have the following before us:—firstly, we have the “*fuer-sich-sein*” of the two realms of being. Secondly, we have also a certain degree of interweaving of the two realms. This is illustrated, for example, in the possibility of mathematical physics, in general, of *a priori* knowledge of the real world.

Allowing for the least measure of speculation, how are we then to formulate the relation between the spheres? Hartmann attempts this in his own doctrine of partial categorial identity. The two realms, being autonomous and primary, have their own categories. What we have said to be the phenomenon of interweaving of the two realms is nothing but a partial identity between the categories of the two.

To ask further about the rationalé of this identity, as to its ‘why’ and ‘how’, is for Hartmann, asking those ultimate metaphysical questions which offer a limit to solubility. Such questions point beyond phenomenology, but cannot be themselves answered.

III

The significance of all this for ontology is great. The separation between the two spheres is now complete. The autonomy and independence of each from the other is established. With the radical separation between the modalities of the spheres, the crux of the situation is reached. The modalities constitute the most fundamental of the categories. They are the categories which along with the inter-modal relations bring into concrete relief the mode of being (“*Seinsweise*”) of each sphere. With demonstration of the radical difference between the modal categories of the two

spheres, absolute separation between the spheres is set on a sure footing. This is further strengthened by rejection of the possibility of any 'influence' or 'determination' of the one by the other.

Ontology, therefore, divides itself into two special branches: an ontology of the real world and an ontology of the ideal sphere. Let us call them for the sake of convenience—without however attributing the terminology to Hartmann himself—"Realontologie" and "Idealontologie" respectively. Since the two spheres are now separated *radically* from each other, each has its own mode of being, its own categories, each of the two special ontologies must be autonomous. The categories and structures of the real world can be described without reference to the categories and structures of the ideal sphere. Hartmann thus aims, in the first two volumes of his ontology, at laying the foundation of an autonomous "Realontologie". More and more, it is the real world which comes to be the principal theme of his philosophizing. The dignity of the real world forces itself upon him in contrast with the shadowy airiness of the idealities. After the general considerations of the first two volumes have laid the foundations, the special "Kategorienlehre" in the last two volumes is devoted entirely to the real world. In all this, Hartmann's motive is to develop an autonomous "Realontologie", an ontology of the real, independent of, and without reference to, the *ideal* considerations.

Is such an autonomous "Realontologie" at all possible? This is a question which is of central importance for ontology and for philosophizing in general.

IV

In "Archiv fuer Philosophie" (1948), Josef König (then of Hamburg) published a paper entitled "Über einen neuen ontologischen Beweis des Satzes von der Notwendigkeit alles Geschehens", which is meant to be criticism of a very special doctrine of Hartmann's ontology, but which lays down the principle for questioning the very foundations and possibility of an autonomous "Realontologie".

The special doctrine which König's paper seeks to examine is the doctrine of *thoroughgoing necessity* in the real world.

The modal analysis which keeps apart the modalities of each sphere makes the distinction between "Ideal-necessity" and "Real necessity". "Ideal-necessity" is the necessity with which one essence includes or excludes another, a mathematical conclusion 'follows' from its premiss, or with which a logical system hangs together. "Real-necessity", on the other hand, is the necessity with which

the chain of real events is constituted, so that nothing in the chain is fortuitous or accidental.

The thoroughgoing necessity which characterises the real world is not to be identified with any particular type of necessity, either causal or teleological. To say that the real world has thoroughgoing necessity does not mean that there is strict causal determination althrough the real process. The real world has a stratified structure and it may be reasonable to suppose that the various strata exhibit differing types of necessity. But althrough the various strata runs a common feature, a thoroughgoing determination which allows no accident, a "Realzusammenhang" which makes of real events a continuum-like interconnectedness.

Hume missed this basic "Realzusammenhang". Hume's inquiry failed, because he was searching for the wrong thing at the wrong place. He was searching for "Ideal necessity" in the real process,—a search which, by its very nature, is doomed to failure.³

König's criticism was directed against this doctrine of "Realzusammenhang". The starting point of this is an examination of what Hartmann means by a real being. 'Real being' of Hartmann is a real event, that is, *as* happening here and now. It is only with regard to such a real event *as* happening here and now that the idea of "Real-necessity" meaningfully holds good. Precisely this is what König contends to be absurd.

The idea of necessary connection between A and B implies the idea "if A, then B". This latter further implies the repeatability of both A and B. But, by its very nature, if A and B be real events of Hartmann's conception, A and B cannot be meaningfully thought to be repeatable. Since, as said before, the real event of Hartmann is thought of as happening here and now, which means that the idea of A's existing here and now is included within the very idea of A's being a real event, the idea of repeatability and hence ulso the idea of necessity cannot be meaningfully predicated of A.

That his own criticism of Hartmann's doctrine of "Real necessity" is but an exemplification of a more general principle of criticism is suggested by König himself. This at once brings out, according to König, the novelty and the absurdity of Hartmann's ontology.

Traditional ontology since Aristotle had as its subject matter for theorising the scale of being from the *summun genus* down to the last species which is also a genus. This means that the socalled *infima species* was always excluded from the subjectmatter

of *theory*. Infima species as such i.e., as the incurably particular it is, was recognised to be a limit to theory.

The novelty of Hartmann's ontology is the attempt to make just this infima species as such the subjectmatter of theory. Hartmann's real being is just the infima species *as such*, i.e., with its transient particularity. This novelty is also the highly paradoxical character of Hartmannian "Realontologie".

König seeks to clarify this situation with the help of a distinction whose importance for logic and ontology he has been bringing home to us since then through his published papers and university lectures. This is the distinction between "theoretical 'this' " and "practical 'this' ".

The 'this' may mean "such and such" or it may mean the "this-there" (identified ostensively). In the former case, "this" also means "this sort of". In the latter case, the "this" implies a 'pointing out',—an act which involves somebody for whom the 'pointing out' is meant. For these two kinds of "this", König chooses the termini "theoretical this" and "practical this". If A be a real being of Hartmann, A is a "practical this". By its very nature, A can only be pointed out as "this-there". Of such an entity, no theoretical statement can meaningfully be made.⁴

The principle implied in König's above-mentioned paper (whose explicit intention was to question Hartmann's doctrine of Real-necessity) has been developed by the present author in his Goettingen Doctor's thesis entitled "An Inquiry into the Problem of ideal being in the Philosophies of Nicolai Hartmann and A. N. Whitehead"⁵ with a view to extend its scope to cover the entire basis of Hartmann's ontology. Thereby, the very task of ontology is questioned from a fresh point of view.

We can interpret König's suggestion in our own language thus:—Absolute separation between the two primary spheres of being leads to the consequent attempt at building an autonomous ontology of the real. The real, when it is robbed of all ideal elements and structures, is nothing but the transient particular, the mere "this-there", König's "practical this", Hartmann's real being. The elements and structures in the real world which are essentially repeatable and 'recognisable' are all ideal. In the stream of real events, taken as real happenings, nothing is repeatable. Of such events, no *theory* can be made. And yet Hartmann's doctrines of "Real-possibility" and "Real-necessity" are elements of such a theory which Hartmann seeks to build up!

This is supported by a critical examination of Hartmann's philosophy of ideal being and the way the two spheres have been kept asunder. It becomes clear that the way the spheres have

been kept apart depends upon and, in its turn, influences Hartmann's formulation of the nature of ideal being.

V

Comparison with the cosmology of A. N. Whitehead affords us with an important case of the principle involved here. Whitehead's distinction between actual entities and eternal objects is a parallel to Hartmann's two-sphere theory. But also like Hartmann, Whitehead recognises two secondary spheres, 'hybrid' entities: propositions (corresponding to Hartmann's sphere of 'logic') and 'feeling' (which includes Hartmann's sphere of 'knowledge'). Thus the ontology and the cosmology present the same external pattern. But their inner motives and executions show great differences and these differences illustrate the principle of criticism suggested in the above section.

To bring this out, the course of development of Whitehead's 'Platonism' must be mentioned. The early works on natural philosophy had introduced the distinction between 'events' and 'objects'. 'Objects' were those elements in nature which were 'recognisable', which are the 'same'. 'Events' on the other hand were the passing, transient, spatio-temporal factors. Whitehead's account of 'objects' which cannot be elaborated here shows that in this early formulation, the separation between 'objects' and 'events' was absolute. 'Events' were what 'objects' were not; 'objects' were what 'events' were not. When one reviews the different classes of 'objects' ('sense-objects', 'perceptual objects', 'scientific objects') which Whitehead admitted, one realises that the 'events' were nothing but the passing 'point-instants', so that every other content of our experience was itself an 'object' or composed of factors which were themselves 'objects'.

In the later cosmology, the nature of this distinction undergoes a significant change. The category of 'event' is now replaced and enriched by the category of 'actual entity'. The 'objects' are raised to the dignity of being 'eternal objects'. Whereas in the earlier natural philosophy, 'events' were only 'thin slabs of duration', 'point-instants', now the actual entities are recognised to be enduring, to have all the richness of content within themselves. The 'perceptual objects' and the 'scientific objects' of the former phase are no more now eternal objects, but are actual entities. The only eternal objects are the so-called 'sense objects' (the eternal objects of the 'subjective species') and the mathematical entities (the eternal objects of the 'objective species').

While thus the two categories underwent change, what is directly relevant for us is the following: —

Whereas the 'events' and 'objects' mutually excluded each other so that the 'events' were what the 'objects' were not and *vice versa*, now the actual entities and eternal objects stand in organic relation with each other. The actual entities are what they are because of the eternal objects which have found 'ingression' in them, so that no description of the actual entities is possible without referring to the constituent eternal objects.

Hartmann's distinction between real being and ideal being is as radical, as absolute as Whitehead's early distinction between events and objects. We have seen that this way of keeping the two spheres asunder makes it impossible to theorise about the real sphere. In spite of his two entity theory, Whitehead's later cosmology avoids this error. Whitehead realises that any description of the actualities must necessarily take into consideration the eternal objects ingredient in them. Whitehead's cosmology therefore, though eminently concerned with the real-actual world, is no autonomous "Realontologic" in the above specified sense.⁶

The real *as such*, as merely real, as the stubborn matter of fact, "die Haerte des Realen" is no subjectmatter of theory. Theory always transcends this stubborn matter of fact and in its attempt to come back to it, always falls short of the ideal. Actuality, in Whitehead's language, must be described in terms of the eternal objects and yet cannot be exhausted by them. This is the significance of Whitehead's doctrine of "infinite associate hierarchy of eternal objects", developed in the chapter on "Abstraction" in the "Science and the Modern World".

The real *as such*, as merely real, as the stubborn matter of fact is reached through *practical* relationship, vital-emotional-organic situations. Both Whitehead and Hartmann recognise this. That this also sets a limit upon the scope of theory is not recognised by Hartmann.

A significant suggestion is thrown by Whitehead when he tells us that 'theory' is a 'hybrid' entity. That the ontological "Fragestellung" can and should be extended to 'ontology' itself is not seen by Hartmann. Hartmann's blind faith in the capacity of 'intentio recta' covers up this vision. Direct access to reality is only through vital-emotional-organic relationship. In theory, language intervenes. It is interesting for this purpose that Whitehead does not distinguish between 'proposition' and 'theory' and hurls them together as constituting one class of 'hybrid' entity. Hybrid entities are constituted of both eternal objects and actual entities. Hartmann recognises this of 'logic', but not of 'ontology'.

Theorising about actuality must involve reference to 'possibilities'. Theory moves in the realm of meaningful possibilities. The so-called 'Ideal-possibility' is the only theoretical possibility. The so-called 'Real-possibility' of Hartmann is no meaningful concept within the realm of theory. It may be designated 'practical' possibility',—a concept which is in need of further elaboration and specification.

¹ This neglect may be noticed in the comparatively lesser attention paid to N. Hartmann's best philosophical work "Möglichkeit und Wirklichkeit" (Berlin, 1939). For example, a volume exclusively devoted to his work ("Nicolai Hartmann, der Denker und sein Werk", Göttingen, 1952) contains no study of his modal doctrine. Yet it is the modal doctrine which, in Hartmann's case, constitutes the basis of the entire thought-structure.

² A. Faust—Der Moeglichkeitsgedanke (Heidelberg, 1931), 2 Volumes.

³ Compare Whitehead's criticism of Hume.

⁴ The corresponding distinction in logic is between 'theoretical sentences' and 'practical sentences'. This distinction was laid down by König in his Vorlesung on "Theoretische und praktische Sätze" during the summer semester 1953 and the winter semester 1953/54 at the Göttingen University.

⁵ Now published under the title "Nicolai Hartmann and Alfred North Whitehead: A study in recent Platonism" (Calcutta, 1957).

⁶ The "Process and Reality" also makes a distinction between 'general' possibility and 'real' possibility, but the latter is no independent and autonomous mode, but a limitation of the former!

⁷ This suggestion was given to the author by Josef König in course of private conversation, although the responsibility of using it in the present form is the present author's own.

Some Aspects of the Two main Schools of Chinese Philosophy and their Indian Counterparts

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Ssu-ma T'an, the great historian of China¹, classifies the Philosophy of China into six major schools. These are: *Yin-yang chia* or the School of Yin-yang, the *Ju chia* or the School of Literati popularly known as Confucianist School, the *Mo chia* or the Mohist School, the *Ming chia* or the School of Names, the *Fa chia* or the Legalist School and the *Tao-Te chia* or the Taoist School. Liu Hsin, a later historian, classifies the Chinese philosophy, again into ten groups. Of these six are the same as those mentioned by Ssu-ma T'an. The remaining four are the *Tsung-Heng chia* or the School of Diplomats, the *Tsa chia* or the School of Eclectics, the *Nung chia* or the School of Agrarians and the *Hsiao-Shuo chia* or the School of Story Tellers². Of all these *Tao-Te chia* and the *Ju chia* are the most important. Through a series of evolutions these two schools came to be regarded as the two main streams among many other rival schools of thoughts in China.

Of the main treatises of *Tao-Te chia* is the *Lao Tzu* bearing the name of the author Lao Tzu, in later times also known as the *Tao-Te ching*, or the classic of the *Way and Power*.

The central idea of the *Lao Tzu* which is traditionally regarded as the first philosophical work in the history of Chinese thought represents an attempt to reveal a law underlying the changes of things in the Universe. Things change but the law underlying these changes remain unchanged (*Ch'ang*). If one understands this law and abides by it he automatically can attain

the ultimate aim of life. Another point which is emphatically stressed is the *Method of Escape*.³ It is so called for the fact that *one should escape from the society and hide himself in mountains and forests to lead the life of a true sage. Affairs of the world are so complicated that no matter how one can hide himself, evils are always there which cannot be avoided. By hiding himself in forests and mountains it is possible for him to avoid the evils of the human society.*

But inspite of the attempt to hide oneself there is no absolute guarantee against evil. There remains always some unseen element. One may take every form of care yet the possibility remains that one will still suffer from injury. This injury first comes to the body. So if "there be no body to suffer what disaster could there be? Because that I have a body I have disaster"⁴. If one can think in this way he can realise the equalisation of life with death. By such a realisation one can transcend the limits of the existing world" and can enjoy an eternal happiness.

In the first chapter⁶ of the *Lao Tzu* we find *Tao* to represent an underlying law or an element in the midst of changes. It is ineffable. It cannot be perceived by ordinary senses. Because, "*Tao* lying hidden becomes nameless"⁷. The *Tao* that can be expressed in words "is not the eternal *Tao*: The name that can be named is not the abiding name. The unnameable is the beginning of heaven and earth. The nameable is the mother of all things"⁸. The *Tao* "is eternal, nameless, the uncarved block (*P'u*)....once the block is carved there arises name"⁹.

Heaven and earth and also other objects are nameable (*yu ming*). The uncarved block is *Tao* and it is unnameable (*wu ming*). *Tao* is again by which all nameables come to be. Since there are objects all round us there must be *that* by which all these objects come to be. This *that* is designated as *Tao*¹⁰ which, however, is not really a name. *Tao* is unnameable. It cannot be expressed in words. But it is to be expressed and so is given a name. We can call it *Tao*. But to name *Tao* as *Tao* is not the same as to name a book as a book. When we name a book as book we mean that it has got some special attributes which make it different from a table and by which it is named a book. In the case of *Tao* it is not so because it is devoid of all attributes. *Tao* is that by which anything and everything come to be. The objects are always there. Since they are there, *Tao* as an eternal source of them can never cease to be and its name as *Tao* also will not cease to be. "From the past to the present *Tao's* name has not ceased to be and has seen the beginning of all things"¹¹ because it is that through which all other things whatsoever have

come to be. A name that never ceases to be is an abiding name and such a name is in reality not an independent name at all. "The name that can be named is not the abiding name". Every thing may have a name but *Tao* is not merely that name. It is nameless and an uncraved block"¹².

That which comes to be is a being. The coming of all beings implies that there is a Grand Being or Existent (*Yu*) which comprises all of them. This Grand Being or Existent is above all time and space because "all things in the world come into being from Being"¹³. It has no cause. No doubt there may be a Non-being prior to the coming of this Grand Being. But this Non-being as soon as it determines becomes that Grand Being. Hence it is said "Being comes into being from Non-being"¹⁴. *Tao* is said to be unnameable. This unnameable state can not be expressed in terms. It is inexpressible because words fail to express it. So it is designated as Non-being (*wu*). In India also according to the Mādhvamika Philosophers *Dharmatā* too, cannot be expressed in terms¹⁵. Such an inexpressible state of *Dharmatā* has been designated as *Śūnyatā*¹⁶.

There are many beings in the universe. But the Grand Being underlying all of them is one (*Tai*). "From *Tao* there comes one. From one there comes two. From two there comes three. From three there come all things"¹⁷. Though things are ever changeable and changing the element that governs this change is unchangeable (*ch'ang*). When through process of change a thing reaches to the extreme it again reverts back. To go further and further means to revert again"¹⁸ to the invariable for "reversion is the movement of *Tao*"¹⁹.

"To know the invariable is called enlightenment"²⁰ and one "who knows the invariable becomes liberal. Being liberal he becomes without prejudice. Being without prejudice he becomes comprehensive. Being comprehensive he becomes vast. Being vast he merges with the truth. Being merged with it he lasts for ever"²¹. He becomes then a true sage, a perfect man. He becomes absolutely happy because he transcends the ordinary distinctions of worldly affairs. He transcends the distinction between the self and the not-self or world. He is one with the *Tao* who has no name. The sage who is one with *Tao* has also no name. He does nothing (*wu wei*) and has nothing to achieve, because a "perfect man has no self, the spiritual man has nothing to achieve and the true sage has no name"²².

Confucius is said to be the founder of the *Ju chia*. In China philosophical schools began with the practice of private teaching. Confucius was the first person to teach a large number of students

in a private capacity. His ideas are best expressed in the *Lun yü*, popularly known as Confucian Analects, a collection of his scattered sayings compiled perhaps by some of his disciples.

There are six important works of this school collectively known as *Liu yü* which means six arts or the six liberal texts but commonly translated as six classics. Main are: the *Yi* or the Book of Changes, the *Shih* or the Book of Odes (Poetry), the *Shu* or the Book of History, the *Li* or the Rituals, the *Yüeh* or the Spring and Autumn Annal, a chronicle of the state of Lu extending from 722 B.C. to 479 B.C. the year in which Confucius died.

Teaching of Confucius are generally confined to each individual and the society. With regard to a society he held that in order to have a well-ordered one the fundamental thing to be observed is that which is technically called *Rectification of Names*²¹. It means that a thing in actual fact should be made to accord with the implication attached to them by names. "Let the ruler be the ruler, the minister the minister, the father the father, and the son the son"²¹. Every name has some implication which constitute the essence of the class of things which the name signifies: A ruler should be such a ruler that befits his name—that which ideally he ought to be, that is, a ruler's action should be such as agreeing actually with its name. Each name in a society implies some responsibilities and duties. Father, son etc. are such names, of social relationships and every individual bearing such names should perform their duties accordingly. This is indispensable for the running of a good society.

As regards individual it is emphasised that every one should practise *Jen* and *Yi*. *Jen* means humanheartedness, that is, loving others²⁵. In a society father as an individual should act according to the way in which son should act to respect his father. Society consists of paternal relations. If the duties of paternal relations be perfectly observed the complexities of the society become wholly solved. If a father loves his son or a son respects his father they truly perform their duties towards a society. *Yi* means righteousness, that is, a categorical imperative which one ought to do for duty's sake and not for personal *Li* (gain). *Li* and *Yi* are two diametrical opposed concepts. *Yi* is of superior type and *Li* is an inferior one. "The superior man comprehends *Yi* and the inferior man comprehends *Li*"²⁶. Later Confucianists always gave inferior position to *Li* and gave much stress upon *Yi* which they considered as utmost important for moral development.

In the *Ching Yung* or the Doctrine of Mean, a chapter of the *Li Chi* we find mention of two principles *Chung* and *Shu*, the practice of which means the practice of *Jen*. *Chung* means

conscientiousness to others, that is, one should not do to others what he does not wish to do for himself. *Chung* is the positive aspect of the practice of *Jen*, where as *Shu* is the negative aspect of it. The principles of *Chung* and *Shu* may be said to be the alpha and Omega of ones moral life. Confucius gave much emphasis upon these two aspects. His teachings may be said to be mainly based upon the principles of *Chung* and *Shu* "and that is all"²⁷.

According to Confucius all our activities are controlled by *Ming*. If they "prevail in the world it is *Ming*. If they are to fall to the ground it also *Ming*"²⁸. We can try our best to perform our duties, but the result is left to the *Ming*. *Ming* means total existent conditions and forces in the whole universe which control our activities. For the success of our activities the co-operation of those conditions and forces is always necessary. But such co-operation is wholly beyond our control. The best way for us is to carry out what we ought to do without caring whether we succeed or fail. Every man's concern is for that which we ought to do. Nevertheless whatever he does he should not aim for any thing because the value of doing what he should do lies in the performance alone and not in the result.

In India very early in the history of its philosophy thinkers began to ask about the stuff the world is made of. Can every thing in the Universe be resolved into some elementary form of being, some ultimate reality, such for instance, as matter, energy or spirit? In such an enquiry lies the ancient problem of reality or the problem of being.

The one great truth which the philosophers of the *Upanisads* endeavoured to discover is that which underlies and upholds all things from within—physical as well as psychical. There is one absolute permanent principle without change and with none other like it. The entire cosmic order is permeated and sustained by this principle which is immanent in all of its part, stirs them all, guides and regulates their activities as the universal guide and ruler.

This principle is *Brahman*, an eternal principle in the midst of change and generation, evolution and progress. The *Upanisads* hold creation to be a process of self manifestation of this spiritual principle which lies unexhausted in this world of diversity and all the cosmic changes are determined by its immanent ends. *Brahman* is defined in the *Upanisads* as that which evolves the "names" and "forms" from within, and wherein they lie supported is *Brahman*²⁹. "The sun and the moon, O Gārgī," remarks Yājñavalkya,³⁰ "the heaven and earth all abide in, and move under

guidance of the imperishable Being," who is immanent in all existents, and yet transcends them all, whom the existents do not know, whose body they are, who controls them all from within, he is the self, the imperishable eternal ruler"³¹. "There is no Second outside of him, no other distinct from him"³². "There is here no plurality at all"³² and consequently there can be no question of any thing existing outside of *Brahman*. "With the knowledge of *Brahman*, therefore, every thing is known"³³. "In truth he who has seen, heard, comprehended and known *Brahman*, the Self, by him this entire universe is known"³⁴. "This Universe is not a reality (*Satya*) but the real in it is *Brahman* alone"³⁵. "He is all-effecting, all-wishing, all-smelling, all-lasting, embracing all, silent, untroubled"³⁶. "The *Brahman* is beneath and above, in the west and in the east, in the south and in the north, the *Brahman* is the entire universe"³⁷.

The entire thought of the Upanisadic philosophers centres round two concepts of *Brahman* and *Ātman*. *Brahman* is the universe and *Brahman* is *Ātman*. Śāṇḍilya elaborates his spiritual experience of *Brahman* in his famous *Brahman*-doctrine, the germ of which can be traced back as far as the Brāhmaṇic period and begins in the following words:—Truly this all is *Brahman*; this my *Ātman* in my inmost heart is smaller than a grain of rice or a barley corn, or a mustard seed or a millet grain. This my *Ātman*, in my inmost heart is greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than the heavens, greater than all spheres. In him are all actions, all wishes, all smells, all tastes, he holds this all enclosed within himself, he does not speak, he troubles about nothing, this my *Ātman*, in my inmost heart is *Brahman*. With him when I depart shall I be united. For him to whom this knowledge has come, for him indeed, there exists no doubt"³⁸. "The *Brahman*", expresses Deussen, "is the power which presents itself to us materialised in all existing things, which creates, sustains, preserves and receives back into itself again all worlds, this eternal infinite divine power is identical with *Ātman*, with that which, after stripping off every things external, we discover in ourselves as our real most being, our individual self in soul"³⁹. "This doctrine has found expression most pointedly and clearly in the Upanisadic dictum—That thou art (*at tvamasi*). The philosophers of the *Upanisads* endeavour to make clear the doctrine of Unity of the world with *Brahman* and *Brahman* with *Ātman*. "Only the existent was in the beginning and this only as one without a second. Some said only the nonexistent was there in the beginning and this only as one without a second and out of this nonexistent arises the existent. But how could this be so? Only the existent

was here in the beginning and this only as one without a second. Just as bees when they are preparing honey collect the juices of the most diverse flowers and then combine these juices into one unity; as in this unity those juices do not retain any difference so that that could say 'I am the juice of this flower, I am the juice of that flower, so all these creatures here when they have become absorbed in the existent have no consciousness of the fact that they have become absorbed in the existent..... If a piece of salt be placed in water and the water is tasted from all its sides it tastes salty but the salt is not visible, here in the body also the existent is not visible but it is there and it is this very minute which constitutes the being of all. This is truth. This is *Ātman*⁴⁰ which passes beyond hunger and thirst, sorrow and delusion, old age and death, that which is different from it is full of suffering which exists not in reality and therefore, the world of suffering and misery is not real. One who comprehends the doctrine of unity knows no fear and pain. He is not delighted by gain or cast down by loss. He does not feel proud from fame nor does he shrink from infamy. He attached neither to pleasure nor does he feel aversion to pain. There is no likes and dislikes for him. He has no notions of I and not-I. For him there is no delusion. Joy is the name of *Brahman*. "Out of Joy arises all these beings, by joy they live after. They have arisen from Joy and when they pass away they are again absorbed in Joy"⁴¹.

In the post-upanisadic period the philosophers made subordinate the problem of personality to that of Sociability. They emphasised that every thing must be related to humanity where love is the central purpose. To live for others is their absolute demand. Humanity is the great being upon which they build up a voluminous *Smṛiti* and moral literature. Their fundamental problem was to discover the meaning of goodness, right and wrong or duty and the implications of our moral knowledge, how to define duty and what follows from men's moral nature. It is a fact that nothing is absolutely good in this world except a good will. A will is good when it is determined by respect for moral law (*vidhi*) or the consciousness of duty. An act that is done from inclination, say for self interest or even sympathy is not moral. To be that it must be done in the face of such impulses from sheer respect for law (*vidhi*). Moreover rightness or wrongness of an act does not depend on effects or consequences. It is immaterial whether happiness or perfection results so long as the motive of the agent is good. Pure respect for the law is the sublimest test. The moral law is categorical imperative⁴². It commands categorically, unconditionally, it does not say: Do this if

you would be happy or successful but: Do it because it is your duty to do it, that is, duty is for duty's sake⁴³.

The law is universal in character. It influences the commonest of men though he may not be clearly conscious of it. It governs his moral judgments. It is his standard or criterion of right and wrong. The law implicitly commands a perfect society. A rational realm of humanity is necessarily implied in it. Every rational being acts in such a way as if he were by his maxims a legislating member. He is both sovereign and subject. He lays down the law and acknowledges the law. By virtue of his moral nature he is a member of an ideal society. In recognising the authority of law as supreme he recognises the ideal world of the highest good. Man who is governed by moral law and not by his impulses, his selfish desires and appetites is free. The brute is the play ball of his wants and instincts. But through the moral law within him he can resist his sensuous appetites all of which aim at selfish pleasures and because he can suppress his sensuous nature he is free.

Our ordinary knowledge deals with appearances of things connected with spatial and temporal order in which every thing is arranged according to necessary laws. The occurrences in the phenomenal world are absolutely determined by the order as we have seen. But moral consciousness of man, his knowledge of right and wrong gives him an insight into realm that is different from the world of matter presented to senses. Moral consciousness directs one to every law unswervingly irrespective of results to follow⁴⁴. It is the unknown realm which decides the results. This unknown realm is *Apürva*, *Adṛṣṭa* or *Daiva*⁴⁵.

⁴³ He is said to be the author of China's first great dynastic history the *Shih Chi* or the historical records. He lived up to 110 B.C.

⁴⁴ See Treatise on Literature (*Yi Wen Chih*), a Chapter of the History of the Former Hân Dynasty" by Pan Ku (A.D. 32-92).

⁴⁵ It was first formulated by Yang Chu, an earliest prominent exponent of Taoism. We find his name mentioned in *Mencius*. "The principle of Yung Chu is: Each one for himself. Though he might have profited the whole world by plucking a single hair he would not have done it" (8a, 26). About his dogmas the *Hui-nan Tzu* says, "Preserving life what is genuine in it, not allowing things to entangle one's; this is what Yang Chu established (Chapter 13). This Yang Chu is not the same person we find in Anton Forke, Yang Chu's *Garden of Pleasure* and also in Legge, the Chinese Classics, Vol. II. Prolegomena, pp. 92-9.

⁴⁶ *Lao Tzu*, Chapter 13.

⁴⁷ Cf. The story in the chapter entitled 'The Mountain Tree' in the *Chuang—Tzu*.

⁶ Chapters are small, sometimes consisting of a few lines.

⁷ *Lao Tzu*, Chapter 41.

⁸ *Op. Cit.*, Chapter 1.

⁹ *Loc. Cit.*

¹⁰ *Cf. infra.*

¹¹ *Lao Tzu*, Chapter 21.

¹² *Op. Cit.*, Chapter I.

¹³ *Op. Cit.*, Chapter 40.

¹⁴ *Op. Cit.*, Chapter 40.

¹⁵ परमार्थसत्यं सर्वव्यहारसमतिक्रान्तं निर्विशेषसमुत्पन्नमनिरुद्धमभिधेयाभिधानज्ञेयज्ञान विगतम्” *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, Bibhotheca Indica, p. 366.

¹⁶ *Cf. एतदेव च प्रज्ञापारमिता शून्यता तथता भूतकोटि धर्मधात्वादिशब्देन संबृतिमुपा दायामिधीयते*

¹⁷ *Lao Tzu*, Chapter 42.

¹⁸ *Op. Cit.*, Chapter 25.

¹⁹ *Op. Cit.*, Chapter 40.

²⁰ *Op. Cit.*, Chapter, 16.

²¹ *Op. Cit.*, Chapter 16.

²² *Chuang Tzu*, Chapter I.

²³ *Cf. “The one thing needed first is the Rectification of Names” Analects XIII. 3.*

²⁴ *Analects*, XII, 11.

²⁵ Humanheartedness consists in loving others”, *Op. Cit.*, XII, 22.

²⁶ *Op. Cit.*, IV, 16.

²⁷ *Op. Cit.*, IV, 15.

²⁸ *Op. Cit.*, XIV, 38.

²⁹ *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 8. 14. 1.

³⁰ *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 3. 8. 9.

³¹ *Op. Cit.*, 3. 7. 15.

³² *Op. Cit.*, 4. 3. 23-30.

³³ *Op. Cit.*, 4. 4. 19. *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, 2. 1. 5 13

³⁴ *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 2. 4. 5.

³⁵ *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 3. 14. 2.

³⁶ *Op. Cit.*, 7. 25. 2. also *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, 2. 2. 11.

³⁷ *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 10. 6. 3.

³⁸ *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 3. 14. •

³⁹ *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣad*, EFZP, p. 39.

⁴⁰ *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 6. 1. f.

⁴¹ *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, 2. 9; 3. 6. *Isa Upaniṣad*.

⁴² *Cf. ‘सर्वथापि उपनीतेरध्येतव्यो वेदं’ Rg. Vedopakramanikā of Sāyaṇa. Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣad edition, p. 47 also the view of Puruṣārthānūśānakāra Op. Cit., “तत्त्वाध्ययनं न काम्यं किन्तु नित्यम्” p. 46.*

⁴³ *Cf. Niyogu of the Prabhākara School of Mīmāṃsakas and also the Bhāvanā of Kumārila School of Mīmāṃsakas.*

⁴⁴ *Cf. कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन । Gītā, 2. 47.*

⁴⁵ *Cf. विविधाश्च पृथक् चेष्टा दैवम चैवात्र पञ्चमम्’ Op. Cit., 18. 14.*

Fundamentals of Development Planning in Under-developed Areas

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Hearing Barbara Wootton's question, "Plan or no plan?" our friend, Mr. Everybody lighting his cigarette anew, will cheerfully answer, "Plan, please"—scarcely realizing that it may not be so easy as all that. Planning involves an intricate method of programming. The mechanics of Planning can be best appreciated, if we define economic planning as a conscious and carefully thought out process, initiated by the State, for estimating the potential wealth of the country and for utilizing the available resources as efficiently as possible with a view to fulfil some definite long-term objective. The object of economic planning is to use the national resources in the best interest of the nation as a whole. How this should be done must depend upon the economic circumstances of the country, its stage of economic development, its social structure and its methods of government.

In underdeveloped countries planning is an urgent necessity. The present levels of income and productivity are abnormally low in most under-developed economies and therefore a way must be found to bridge the gap between current needs and future sufficiency. In such economies continuous development in small doses will not be very fruitful because there is an initial barren period which should be skipped as fast as possible. The nature of under-developed countries is such that in the initial period a heavy and seemingly fruitless expenditure has to be undertaken prior to the stage when subsequent expenditures would show tangible results. The indigenous populations of under-developed countries contain very few people who are able and prepared to undertake the burden of heavier investments which bring returns after a time lag. The

majority of the inhabitants of these countries are either farmers or traders. In fact, it is also difficult to find entrepreneurs who are prepared to assume the responsibilities of light investments which bring immediate returns. Therefore, it is the State which should undertake the burden of heavier investments and initiate a bold and vigorous programme of development planning for uplifting the under-developed economy from a stage of semi-stagnation.

By assigning to the State the major role in determining the course of economic development and by emphasizing that the primary responsibility of initiating the heavier investments rests with the State, we are now in a position to evaluate the importance of one of the fundamental principles of development planning. It is a well known fact that output cannot expand faster as long as the capital stock remains very small. Strengthening of the capital base of the economy is of prime importance if development planning is undertaken by the State for the purposes of rapid industrialisation and accelerated economic growth. In most under-developed economies the productivity of investment, measured by the expansion of income per unit of additional capital, is low at low levels of capital formation and that it will boost up as the rate of accumulation is accelerated and economies of linked development result from an increase in the volume of heavier investments¹.

In an under-developed economy, with a low volume of national income because of low productivity per head, the extractable economic surplus (i.e., gross national product minus aggregate "essential consumption") is usually limited in amount. Therefore, it would not be judicious to divert this limited amount of economic surplus over a wide range of the economy as this would dampen the general process of economic growth to be achieved by the economy by means of development planning. If in the initial phase of planning heavy industries are fully emphasized, there would be an automatic increase in the productivity of the basic industries. This would certainly be helpful to development planning. Economic development would be accelerated and facilitated throughout the planning period because of the marked growth of heavy industries in the initial stage. The creation of a proper capital base would generate the sustaining power so essential for the economy during the future course of rapid economic development. The tools and equipments which would subsequently flow out of the developed heavy industries sector would immensely benefit the consumer goods industries in the long run.

This is why it is usually recognised, by economic planners in under-developed countries, that at least during the initial stages

of planning, investment should grow at a higher rate than income, and income at a higher rate than consumption, so that there is a process of unbalanced growth². This technique of "planning with unbalanced growth" was originally adopted by Soviet Russia. India (in her Second Five Year Plan), People's China and a number of Eastern European countries are at present experimenting with slight variations of this general technique. The degree of imbalance between heavy industries and consumption goods industries to be experienced, under "planning with unbalanced growth," is of course a decision which depends on a number of factors such as the time horizon taken, the physical constraints of the situation and the consumption standard to be maintained.

There is an important "elasticity factor" which can be brought into prominence during the course of development planning. Just as industrial excess capacity can be utilized for strengthening the expansionary process in a developed economy so also certain productivity reserves may be effectively mobilised in an under-developed economy, endeavouring to achieve accelerated economic growth by means of planning. One such productivity reserve will be found in the unemployed and under-employed categories of the rural labour force. The rural labour surplus may be drawn off the land and put to work on simple capital projects such as dams, irrigation works, roads, etc.

The whole thing may not be so easy as all that for difficulties would certainly crop up. First, there would be a shortage of capital equipment with which these people could work, if they are transferred in an extremely rapid manner to construction works and community development projects. Secondly, the employment of the rural labour surplus in road building, dam constructing and allied activities usually involves a transfer into more highly paid jobs. Higher incomes would certainly stimulate their demand for consumer goods and if this is not properly met there would be a heavy dose of inflation.

How to bridge these two vital gaps—one involving a shortage of capital equipments for construction works and the other dealing with a dearth of consumer goods. If we adopt the technique of "planning with unbalanced growth", the scarcity of tools and equipments would be a headache to the planner only in the initial stages, although in the long run the greater emphasis on heavy industries, under this technique, would create a strong capital base which would be immensely helpful in meeting the demand for capital equipments by a growing economy. But even then something should be done for solving the problem during the initial process of development planning. One comparatively easy solu-

tion would be to dampen the process of transfer of the rural labour surplus to construction projects, whenever bottlenecks of capital equipments would occur. But this is not advisable as it would seriously affect the proposed institutional changes in agriculture under development planning and would make the employment front look less bright and cheerful than what one would expect during the process of planning for uplifting a lagging under-developed country. An alternative and a better solution lies in "diluting" techniques and in simplifying modern equipments. This is, however, a purely temporary expedient because in the longer period there would be an accelerated development of the heavy industries, if the technique of "planning with unbalanced growth" is keenly pursued, and there would be substantial gains as the transition from the simpler to the more complicated technology is undertaken.

Therefore, in the initial period, when there will be a shortage of capital equipments, it would be highly convenient to use pick-and-shovel methods in construction projects and to be satisfied with short-lived, ad hoc structures, postponing their replacement by more elaborate and more permanent type of capital to the time when the initial difficulties are over and the community has become more prosperous. If this is done and if there is a gradual and systematic transfer of rural labour surplus to the construction works the problem would not appear as baffling as it appeared in the beginning. The Indian Planning Commission fully realizes the difficulties which are to be faced during the process of mobilizing the productivity reserve, which is to be found in the rural labour surplus, and, therefore, does not think in terms of solving of the rural unemployment and underemployment problems in the twinkling of an eye.

We now come to the problem of consumer goods' shortage which would be highly baffling, at least, in the initial stages, because of the adoption of the technique of "planning with unbalanced growth" and because of the transference of the rural labour surplus to construction works. In most under-developed countries another productivity reserve exists which shows close resemblance to industrial excess capacity of mature economies. This reserve will be found in handicrafts and cottage industries which, if properly utilized, developed and organized, would be in a position to meet a larger demand for consumer goods without making much additional claims on scarce resources.

From the point of view of achieving accelerated economic growth within the shortest possible time period, it is often helpful to postpone temporarily the installation of too expensive and too

complex machineries in the modern and better organized consumer goods industries until the productivity reserve, to be found in traditional producers has been fully mobilized and utilized. In the meantime most of the scarce investment resources could be used for the development of heavy industries which would accelerate the growth process initiated by development planning. The principle of "diluting" techniques would be also important in the initial stages when it is almost impossible to supply modern tools and equipments to the cottage industries because of a general shortage of such equipments. But in due course, with the improvement of the supply position of capital equipments, the cottage industries would have to be equipped with up-to-date tools because the best technique would certainly pay most in the long run.

This principle of utilizing the productivity reserve, to be found in handicrafts and cottage industries, can play a vital role in the process of uplifting and industrialising a backward economy. In a growing economy, at least, in the initial stages the small-scale producers can make important contributions to the process of economic development³. The best example is provided by Japan where, when the process of accelerated growth started, the small producers found more work, not so much because they were directly supported by the state, but because the demand was expanding so fast that the larger units had to secure the assistance of the smaller units, located in neighbouring homes and villages. Demand grows very fast under development planning aimed at accelerated growth. In such a situation if the small scale producers are officially supported then that would considerably ease the bottlenecks to be experienced because of excess demand. This fully explains why so much importance has been assigned to cottage and other types of small-scale producers in People China's First Five Year Plan and India's Second Five Year Plan.

Thus it is of vital importance for a lagging backward country that the State initiates the process of development planning for boosting up the rate of growth. The fundamental technique, to be followed by the State, should be such that heavy industries expand at a faster rate than consumer goods industries. This strategy which is known as the technique of "planning with unbalanced growth" is really helpful to the late-comers trying to achieve a higher stage of economic development by generating a process of accelerated economic growth. The first corollary of this fundamental principle of development planning deals with the effective mobilisation of two categories of productivity reserves

which are to be found in rural labour surplus and in handicrafts and cottage industries.

We now come to the second corollary of the fundamental principle of development planning which centres attention on the essential link between industrial growth and agricultural development. There may be two types of approaches—the open economy analysis and the closed economy analysis. In the open economy case we should keep aside a certain amount of industrial goods and services which is to be given either to domestic agriculture or to foreign countries in exchange for agricultural products. The fast expanding industrial sector of a growing economy would require a large volume of agricultural products. A substantial portion of the requirement would be met if adequate steps are taken, during the process of development planning for bringing about thorough institutional changes in agriculture and for boosting up the development potential of the agricultural sector. Under the technique of “planning with unbalanced growth” bold and ambitious industrial programmes have to be implemented; therefore, given the exchange rate between industrial goods and agricultural products, the planners would have to decide how much has to be borrowed in addition from the agriculturists and from foreign countries.

The closed economy approach shows the link between urban and rural development in a more clear-cut manner. The closed economy analysis would be fairly realistic as long as there is much scope for land improvements in the backward countries which undertake development planning. A definite amount of expenditure for raising the development potential of the agricultural sector has to be incurred for every group of new entrants into the industrial sector (i.e. the sector which offers non-agricultural employment opportunities). The amount of expenditure would be determined jointly by consumption functions and capital output ratios.

Thus there is a second corollary to the fundamental principle of development planning. This corollary focuses the spot light on the vital connection between industry and agriculture in a growing economy. Thorough agricultural reorganisation and rapid agricultural development are vitally necessary for the sustenance of accelerated industrial growth. This is because the rate of growth of the industrial sector depends on the trends in the supply of food and raw materials from the agricultural sector. This vital point was fully appreciated by the planners in India and in Peoples China, though institutional changes in agriculture were more thorough and convincing in China than in India.

To sum up, the underdeveloped countries are latecomers in

the process of economic development. Time is their most dangerous enemy. There is an initial barren period which has to be skipped as swiftly as possible and the mental and psychological outlook of the majority of the people has to be changed as fast as possible. For accomplishing these difficult tasks, the State should set in motion the machinery of rapid development. Co-ordinated development planning by the State is of prime importance if the underdeveloped countries are to achieve economic growth in an accelerated manner. The growth-oriented type of development planning would initially require substantial accumulation in terms of capital stock, without which the process of development cannot acquire sufficient momentum for initiating a process of accelerated growth. Therefore, the fundamental principle of development planning would be concerned with a technique which emphasizes heavy industries more than consumer goods industries, at least, in the initial stages. From this basic principle follows the first important corollary which tells us that the productivity reserves, to be found in rural labour surplus and in cottage-cum-small industries, should be effectively mobilized and utilized. The second corollary deals with the essential link between agriculture and industry in a developing economy. It emphasizes that rapid agricultural development is a pre-requisite of accelerated industrial growth.

¹ See J. J. Spengler, and H. W. Singer, "Economic Factors in the Development of Densely populated Areas", in the proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 1951.

² The interested reader may consult in this connection Part I, Sections IV and V of my book, "New Horizons in Planning"—World Press (Calcutta), 1956.

³ See "Small Industry in Economy Development", Henry C. Aubrey, in "Social Research", September 1951.

The Christian Philosophy of History

(As seen by a student of Politics)

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Primitive religion in almost all countries was hardly concerned with a critical enquiry about the significance of gods and goddesses in the life of man and nature. It was, truly speaking, pre-critical. At a later stage of early Greek and Hindu speculation the awakening of the divine curiosity led to all sorts of queries about the origin of man and the race, and the meaning of nature. The perpetuation of the race and its future prosperity constituted the substance of prayer to ancestors and to gods. Ancestor-worship which is a legacy from paganism provided a link between the present and the past. Religious beliefs and practices formed a fertile soil for historical speculation. Philosophy of history had a theological background.

In the deserts which extend from Syria and Mesopotamia to the Red Sea among the wandering tribes leading a simple and primitive life were born prophets with a deep insight into ultimate truths. Moses gave his devoted tribes a sense of unity and the conception of a national God, Yahwe, later on called Jehovah, who would guide their destiny as long as they followed His law. In the long line of prophets who succeeded Moses we notice a shift of emphasis from the Mosaic conception of Jehovah as the one God of Israel to the conception of Jehovah as the only God of the universe. Though the life of the individual never receded into the background of Judaism greater emphasis was placed on the life of the nation. In Zephania iii. 12, 13. it is clearly stated that the judgment of Jehovah will apply to all nations alike and ultimately a pious remnant of Israel will survive. The fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. encouraged the belief that the Hebrew State would have a glorious re-birth. That belief was zealously

nursed in the days of the conflict of Jewish theocracy with Greco-Roman civilization. The Hebrew philosophy of history was thus saturated with the idea of a national God, of a society built according to His Laws and of that society remaining permanent in history.

The future of Israel became the primary consideration of the old prophets. Later on, however, Jewish theologians began to face the question of the future of the individual, not merely the Israelite but also the Gentiles. Could the moral life be limited to life in the flesh? Did the righteous have an eternal existence? Could life in God be ended by physical death? All these questions were raised on the basis of the fundamental Jewish belief in one eternal, omnipotent, righteous Jehovah. The problem then was how to combine in one picture the national destiny of the Jewish race as foretold by the prophets with the promise of eternal life to righteous individuals. The original conception of the day of Jehovah as a day of battle now underwent a change. It was now regarded as a day of judgment when God will appear as the ruler of the universe to reward the righteous, punish the wicked and constitute His kingdom for the righteous in Israel. Jeremiah and all those who followed him did not exclude from this kingdom the Gentiles who were righteous. The original idea of a permanent kingdom was supplemented by the idea of eternal life for the righteous. But suppose, the righteous should die before the day of Judgment came, how could they then enjoy eternal life? A miracle would happen and the righteous would rise from their graves and live for ever in the Kingdom of God.

Against this background then the consummation of life for the individual became part of the consummation of life for the nation. The picture of the Messiah itself underwent a transformation. He was no longer conceived as a supernatural being. The Jews dreamed of a day when, as the Scriptures had foretold, a son of David, backed by the power of Jehovah, would appear to inaugurate the Kingdom of God.

In the course of his conflict with Judaism Jesus Christ in spite of his short personal contact with his followers succeeded in purging their minds of the pagan ideas which dominated Judaism. Jesus taught them to regard life as an episode of eternity and to serve God who is the Father of all men through pure and just relations with fellowmen. The old Jewish doctrine of miracles was discarded by Jesus for in the Christian conception ultimate truths cannot be tested by manifestations in the world of phenomena. Orthodox Judaism refused to accept the doctrine that the Messiah had come in the person of Jesus Christ.

But the Christian story of the Resurrection itself led to some controversies inside the Christian Church. The Docetists taught that Christ, the Messiah of prophecy, was a being which existed for all time. They maintained that this supernatural being had been somehow immanent in the person of Jesus Christ during his lifetime on earth. As Professor Kirsopp Lake¹ puts it, the man Jesus had died on the Cross, but not the immanent Christ. On the other hand, the common belief among the ardent Jewish followers of Jesus was that the body of Jesus had risen from the tomb and had actually eaten and drunk with his followers. St. Thomas saw the wounds in the risen body of Jesus and the later Gospels contained stories of the personal Resurrection of Jesus Christ.

What are the causes for this train of ideas, for this re-affirmation of the doctrine of miracles, for the belief that Jesus was the Messiah promised to the Jewish race by the prophets of old?

In the Gospel of Mark IX, 1-10 it is mentioned that the body of Jesus emerged from the tomb. On the other hand, there is St. Peter's version of Jesus during his lifetime on a lonely mountain "transfigured . . . his raiment . . . shining, exceeding white as snow, so as no fuller on earth can white them", talking with Moses and Elijah.

In I Corinthians, XV 3-8 St. Paul writes the statement to the Church in Corinth—

"For I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and that He was buried; and that He hath been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures; and that He appeared to Cephas; then, to the twelve; then He appeared to have five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain until now, but some are fallen asleep; then He appeared to James; then to all the Apostles; and last of all, as unto one born out of the due time, he appeared to me also."

These visions nowhere suggest any personal resurrection of Jesus but they led to a certain belief that the body of Jesus had risen from the tomb. This was strengthened by the teaching of Jesus in his own lifetime that human personality survived the fact of physical death. It was further re-inforced by the old Jewish belief that the life of the individual in God, that is, a life of righteousness could not be ended by physical death, and so a legend grew, the legend of the final ascension to heaven, so that he was not physically present among his followers. Around this legend grew up the belief that Jesus was the Messiah foretold by the prophets of old. And so they readily believed in his lineage

from David and in miracles connected with His birth. It is possible that as Christianity spread beyond Palestine it started to absorb ideas embedded in the folklore of the people in Egypt, in Asia Minor and in Greece. In the Egyptian legend of Isis and Osiris, in the Greek stories of Adonis and Hyacinth there was a natural idea of a God incarnate in human form who after a violent death would return to life as the destined Saviour of suffering humanity. It was quite possible that the belief in the personal resurrection of Jesus on the third day was seen through the medium of the primitive legends of the eastern Mediterranean.

This fervent belief in the miracle of the Resurrection was insensibly coloured by the Jewish tradition and men readily forgot the special significance of the term 'Kingdom of God'. To the Christian Jews it was simply a re-affirmation of the great national tradition. Jesus had come to them for a short time after his burial just to inspire them with hopes. He had temporarily withdrawn to heaven and would appear again in his glorified body as the ruler of the world to banish the wicked and to reward the righteous. Jesus had come to fulfil and not to destroy the Law and the prophets and the Jews still conceived of God as mainly interested in the Jewish race.

In the conflict between Judaism and Christianity, the latter gradually transformed itself from a sect of Judaism to a separate living faith. The great obstacle to the general adoption of Judaism as a world religion lay in the insistence that the one God must be served by the ritual prescribed in the Law of Moses. But in St. Paul's interpretation of Christianity, the creed of monotheism was freed from this parasitic condition. In three centuries Christianity absorbed the whole structure of the Roman Empire. But the mind of St. Paul was already saturated with the Jewish tradition and the Messianic idea that Jesus would come for the second time to inaugurate the Kingdom of God. On these lines Christianity from the very beginning developed a philosophy of history. Its earliest apologists tried to show how the world had followed a divine plan in its long preparation for the life of Christ. This is the central truth of universal history—as revealed in the successive narratives of the Old Testament; its historical teachings laid emphasis on human unity, moral retribution, future redemption and a Messianic Kingdom. From this truth men should continue through all persecutions and sufferings until the divine plan was completed at the judgment day. That, in fact, was an active faith of all Christians who perished and suffered in the days of Roman imperial persecution. As Harnack puts it,*
"This conviction that they were a people—i.e., the transference

of all the prerogatives and claims of the Jewish people to the new community as a new creation which exhibited and realized whatever was old and original in religion—this at once furnished adherents of the new faith with a political and historical self-consciousness. Nothing more comprehensive or complete or impressive than this consciousness can be conceived. Could there be any higher or more comprehensive conception than that of the complex of momenta afforded by the Christians' estimate of themselves as "the true Israel", "the new people", "the original people", and "the people of the future" i.e., of eternity? This estimate of themselves rendered Christians impregnable against all attacks and movements of polemical criticism, while it further enabled them to advance in every direction for a war of conquest. Was the cry raised, "you are renegade Jews"—the answer came, "We are the community of the Messiah, and therefore the true Israelites". If people said, "You are simply Jews", the reply was, "We are a new creation and a new people". If, again, they were taxed with their recent origin and told that they were but of yesterday, they retorted, "We only seem to be the younger people; from the beginning we have been latent; we have always existed, previous to any other people; we are the original people of God". If they were told, "You do not deserve to live", the answer ran, "we would die to live, for we are citizens of the world to come, and sure that we shall rise again."

As a result of the terrible suffering at the hands of the Roman Emperors the Christians began to look upon the Empire as the Kingdom of Satan and to regard the Church as the Kingdom of Heaven in embryo. This idea vanished when Emperor Constantine himself adopted Christianity and Heathenism was prescribed by Theodosius. When Rome was stormed and sacked by the Goths under Alaric in 410 A.D., pagans saw in this the vengeance of the God whom the Christian Emperors had forsaken. The exchange of letters which took place between Velusian, the pro-consul of Africa, himself a pagan and Augustine, the Bishop of Hippo, led to the great survey of Augustine in *De Civitate Dei*. Christianity set up an organised Church which by its activities enriched the contents of history by introducing into it the idea of human destiny and a divine end. Church history was itself a great factor in the development of historiography. The "Ecclesiastical History" of Eusebius (264-340) recounted in an annalistic form while maintaining the unity of the theme the story from the Incarnation of Jesus to the embrace of Christianity by Constantine. The "Chronicle" embodied the contemporary Christian view of history—the view that "the history of man was a divinely ordered

system, beginning with Adam, centring in Christ, and closing in a day of Judgment"². This day of Judgment conception must not be confused with the 'day of Yahwe' conception of the Hebrew prophets. The latter stands for the victory in battle by the followers of Yahwe against the heathen nations, a battle which was a patriotic as well as a pious act. The Christian conception of 'the day of Judgment' is the ultimate day of creation, the day when God will sit in judgment on all men. It is the part of the divine plan of the world. In consequence the philosophy of history undergoes a transformation. As Flint points out³. "The result was an immediate and decisive transcendence of the particularism in the treatment of history characteristic of the classical authors. But there was loss as well as gain. The Hebrew historians were regarded as above criticism. A chronology deduced from texts, deemed inspired and infallible, was arbitrarily imposed on the histories of the heathen nations. A false persuasion of knowledge as to primeval times was engendered. A view of universal history was formed, spacious enough to gain unquestioning acceptance until a recent period, but unable to satisfy the demands of strict criticism and inconsistent with the result which research has at length attained."

The classic statement of the Christian philosophy of history is found in St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (413-426 A.D.) which was regarded as the only Christian philosophy of history for many centuries after him. It offers an interpretation of the whole past history of the world in the light of the Christian revelation. St. Augustine carried his survey back to the origin of evil with the Fall, reviewed the calamities of Roman history and maintained the theory that the terrestrial city which had fallen before Alaric's Goths in 410 A.D. would yield to the city of God. Augustine's Spanish disciple Paulus Orosius attempted a historical demonstration of Augustine's philosophy in his *Seven Books of Histories against the Pagans* which, however, may well be regarded as a supplement to the *City of God*. Mediaeval Europe accepted the Augustinian philosophy of history and in modern times it reappeared in a modified form in the writings of Bossuet, Schegel and others.

Augustine's *City of God* had its prelude and preparation in previous thought. In a sense Augustine was placing on record the outlook of life developed by the Christian Church in the course of the four centuries following the crucifixion of Jesus. Jewish ideas had acquired a firm grip in the Roman world. Christian theocracy was asserting supernatural authority as the final basis of truth. *The City of God* embodied the Jewish idea as purified by

the Christian Church. The Christian Church had now read its destiny.

What, then, is this conception of the 'City of God'?

"Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven". This Kingdom of God is a definite type of society to be realised on earth. In Matthew XIII 47, 48 we find: "the Kingdom of heaven is like unto a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind: which, when it was filled, they drew up on the beach; and they sat down, and gathered the good into the vessels, but the bad they cast away". The preservation of the good and the elimination of the bad will help the operation of the survival of the fittest in the sphere of human institutions. The good and the useful will survive and the evil and useless will perish.

It is clear that Augustine accepted divine revelation as the necessary basis of his system.

"Since the mind itself, though naturally capable of reason and intelligence, is disabled by besotting and inveterate vices not merely from delighting and abiding in, but even from tolerating His unchangeable light, until it has been gradually healed, and renewed, and made capable of such felicity, it had, in the first place, to be impregnated with faith, and so purified. And that in this faith it might advance the more confidently towards the truth, the truth itself, God, God's son, assuming humanity without destroying His divinity, established and founded this faith, that there might be a way for man to man's God through a God-man. For this is the Mediator between God and Man, the man Christ Jesus. For it is as Man that He is the Mediator and the Way. Since, if the way lieth between him who goes, and the place whither he goes, there is hope of his reaching it; but if there be no way, or if he know not where it is, what boots it to know whither he should go? Now the only way that is infallibly secured against all mistakes, is when the very same person is at once God and Man, God our end, Man our way."

"This Mediator, having spoken what He judged sufficient, first by the prophets, then by His own lips, and afterwards by the apostles, has besides produced the Scripture which is called Canonical, which has paramount authority, and to which we yield assent in all matters of which we ought not to be ignorant, and yet cannot know of ourselves."⁴

The fundamental problem that presented itself to St. Augustine was not philosophical or historical. It was theological namely, to defend the Gospel against the attack of those who made Christianity responsible for the fall of Rome and wanted a revival of the pagan religion of ancient Rome. As Augustine himself says,

"It was this which kindled my zeal for the house of God, and prompted me to undertake the defence of the City of God against the charges and misrepresentations of its assailants . . . this great undertaking was at last completed in twenty-two books. Of these, the first five refute those who fancy that the polytheistic worship is necessary in order to secure worldly prosperity, and that all these overwhelming calamities have befallen us in consequence of its prohibition. In the following five books I address myself to those who admit that such calamities have at all times attended, and will at all times attend, the human race . . . In these ten books, then, I refute these two opinions, which are as groundless as they are antagonistic to the Christian religion.

"But that no one might have occasion to say, that although I have refuted the tenets of other men, I had omitted to establish my own, I devote to this object, the second part of this work, which comprises twelve books . . . Of these twelve books, the first four contain an account of the origin of these two cities—the city of God, and the city of the world. The second four treat of their history or progress, the third and last four, of their deserved destinies. And so, though all these twenty-two books refer to both cities, yet I have named them after the better city, and called them the City of God."⁵

In the course of a long theological discussion St. Augustine propounded the Christian philosophy of history built on the Messianic idea—the idea which dominated even the thought of the Middle Ages. In the Chronicles of the Middle Ages, human society was conceived as organised in one polity in preparation for the time when Jesus Christ would return to decide the fate of each individual soul, to punish the wicked and to reward the righteous with the blissful existence of the heavenly Kingdom.

St. Augustine draws a distinction between the earthly city (practically identified with the Roman Empire)⁶ and the heavenly city and finds their origin even in the days of Adam and Eve:

"Of these two first parents of the human race, then, Cain was the first-born, and he belonged to the city of men: after him was born Abel, who belonged to the City of God . . . Accordingly, it is recorded of Cain, that he built a city, but Abel, being a sojourner, built none. For the city of the saints is above, although here below it begets citizens, in whom it sojourns till the time of its reign arrives, when it shall gather together all in the day of the resurrection: and then shall the promised Kingdom be given to them, in which they shall reign with their Prince, the King of the ages, time without end.

"Thus the founder of the earthly city was fratricide. Over-

come with envy, he slew his own brother, a citizen of the eternal city, and a sojourner on earth. So that we cannot be surprised that this first specimen, or, as the Greeks say, archetype of crime, should, long afterwards, find a corresponding crime at the foundation of that city which was destined to reign over so many nations, and be the head of this earthly city of which we speak. For of the city also, as one of their poets has mentioned "the first walls were stained with a brother's blood", or, as Roman history records, Remus was slain by his brother Romulus.⁷

The terrestrial city must be subject to eternal punishment:

"Miserable, therefore, is the people which is alienated from 'GOD'. Yet even this people has a peace of its own which is not to be lightly esteemed, though, indeed, it shall not in the end enjoy it, because it makes no good use of it before the end. But it is our interest that it enjoy this peace meanwhile in this life; for as long as the two cities are conmingled, we also enjoy the peace of Babylon. For from Babylon the people of God is so freed that it meanwhile sojourns in its company. And therefore the apostle also admonished the Church to pray for kings and those in authority, assigning as the reason, "that we may live a quiet and tranquil life in all godliness and love."⁸

The ultimate fate of the earthly city is then described in Book XXI of Volume II:

"I propose with such ability as God may grant me, to discuss in this book more thoroughly the nature of the punishment which shall be assigned to the devil and all his retainers, when the two cities, the one of God, the other of the devil, shall have reached their proper ends through Jesus Christ our Lord, the judge of quick and dead."

The city of God will be finally constituted after the return of Christ:⁹

"That the last judgment then, shall be administered by Jesus Christ in the manner predicted in the sacred writings is denied or doubted by no one, unless by those who, through some incredible animosity or blindness, decline to believe these writings, though already their truth is demonstrated to all the world. And at or in connection with that judgment the following events shall come to pass, as we have learned: Elias the Tishbite shall come, the Jews shall believe; Anti-Christ shall persecute: Christ shall judge; the dead shall rise; the good and the wicked shall be separated; the world shall be burned and renewed. All these things, we believe, shall come to pass; but now or in what order, human understanding cannot perfectly teach us, but only the experience of the events themselves. My opinion, however, is,

that they will happen in the order in which I have related them."

The society which is the city of God realizes in an eminent degree the two values, justice (*justitia*) and peace (*pax*).

Where then, lay the origin of this idea of the city of God?

On the one hand, it is derived, as Augustine himself says, from the Christian revelation. On the other hand, it is clear that it developed a notion which was already growing up in pre-Christian days in Greek philosophers and in Cicero—of a society coterminous with the universe which transcends all the limited associations of state, race, or class; and of which all men are qualified to be members simply in virtue of their common humanity. Cicero says:¹⁰

" those who share Law must also share Justice; and those who share these are to be regarded as members of the same common wealth. If, indeed, they obey the same authorities and powers, this is true in a far greater degree; but as a matter of fact, they do obey this celestial system, the divine mind, and the God of transcendent power. Hence we must now conceive of this whole universe as one common-wealth of which both gods and men are members." (Marcus).

The two fundamental postulates of Cicero's thought are the law of nature and the equality of man—since the law of nature extends equally to all men, it follows that all men are by this very fact made fellow-members with one another in a society co-extensive with humanity and transcending the difference of particular states.

Says Marcus: "But what is more divine I will not say in man only but in all heaven and earth, than reason? And reason when it is full grown and perfected is rightly called wisdom. Therefore, since there is nothing better than reason, and since it exists both in man and God, the first common possession of man and God is reason. But those who have reason in common must also have right reason in common. And since right reason is Law, we must believe that men have Law also in common with the gods." To Augustine also the members of the kingdom of God because they commonly love and worship the one God constitute a society. The members of the heavenly city "enjoy community with God and *with one another* in God." Realistically speaking, of course, this does not explain why a common love for and worship of one god should constitute a bond of society among the worshippers, when other unifying factors are ignored. Perhaps Augustine sought to underline the fundamental Christian doctrine that a man's love of God inevitably leads to the love of his neighbour, but should not be completely identical with it, since members of the 'earthly

city' must remain among their neighbours. The two commandments cannot be reduced one to the other. It is love of God and of one's neighbour—and the unifying idea is that of the *fatherhood* of God. To Cicero, men are members of the universal society by nature. To Augustine, though it was the divine plan that all men should be members of it, the plan was defeated by the fall of man. So only by grace it is possible for *men* to become members of the Kingdom. But Augustine notes that grace is not given to all and so all men are not members of it. That explains why some men are excluded from the City of God, though they are not excluded on the ground of race, or class, or state.

* * *

What is justice? What is peace?

Justice is conformity to order. A state may not conform to justice in an absolute sense. Absolute justice belongs only to the universal order based on the will of God. In Augustine's judgment there is no justice in earthly Kingdoms and pagan states. As Augustine says—¹¹.

"Set justice aside, then, and what are Kingdoms but great robberies? because what are robberies but little kingdoms? for in thefts, the hands of the underlings are directed by the commander, the confederacy of them is sworn together and the pillage is shared by the law amongst them. And if those ragamuffins of now but up to be able enough to keep forts, build habitations, possess cities, and conquer adjoining nations, then their government is no more called thievish, but graced with the eminent name of a kingdom, given and gotten, not because they have left their practices, but because that now they may use them without danger of law; for elegant and excellent was that pirate's answer to the great Macedonian Alexander, who had taken him: the king asking him how he durst molest the seas so he replied with a free spirit, "How darest thou molest the whole world? But because I do it with a little ship only, I am called a thief; thou, doing it with a great navy, art called an emperor."

"Now, to war against one's neighbours and to proceed to the hurt of such as hurts not you, for greedy desire of rule and sovereignty, what is this but flat thievery in a greater excess and quantity than ordinary?"

In this analysis, therefore, Augustine was pointing at a universal order transcending that of the state and that a state in spite of its strength to command the devotion of its citizens may transgress the rules of a more universal order and thus be unjust. A state, for example, may be unjust when it infringes the rights of other states. It is also unjust when it infringes the rights of

God and diverts the service and worship from the true God to false gods. "What justice is that, then, which takes man from the true God, and gives him unto the condemned fiends?" Indirectly, therefore, Augustine's appeal is to individuals to transfer their ultimate allegiance from the State to the universal society. Or, to be more precise, we may take St. Augustine's writings as a commentary on Christ's injunction: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."

The Platonic conception of justice forms an interesting contrast to the Augustinian. According to Plato, justice can be realised in the state alone. Justice is an ethical arrangement in which everybody makes his contribution to the state according to his capacity or aptitude. Justice consists in the relationship between the Guardians, warriors and the producing classes, in the harmony between Reason, Spirit and Appetite. The individual cannot realise himself outside the state. Hence, justice has been institutionalized by Plato through two principal agents—a proper mode of social organization i.e., communism, and a proper scheme of education. To Plato, therefore, the state is the noblest and final form of society. If Justice implies law, there can be no law superior to the law of the State. Justice to Plato is a relative conception i.e. it is relative to a social order both in space and time. To Augustine, however, an individual is a member of a universal and eternal society and hence subject to its universal and eternal law. That law is the same for all times and for all men. By this standard of justice Augustine sought to judge the moral worth of states. This is the germinal principle of the distinction that was later on drawn in medieval and modern times between the secular and the religious sphere of life, and the exclusion of the state from the latter.

What, then, is Augustine's peace?

To Augustine peace is not merely the absence of war but a positive concord, a harmonious relation, and end to which all men strive by an innate natural law.¹²

"Who will not confess this with me, who marks man's affairs, and the general form of nature? For joy and peace are desired alike of all men Even the thieves themselves that molest all the world besides them are at peace amongst themselves thus then you see that all men desire to have peace with such as they would have lived according to their liking. For those against whom they wage war, they would make their own if they could, and if they conquer them they give them such laws as they like"

"The very wild beasts do preserve a peace with others

in their kind, begetting, breeding, and living together amongst themselves being otherwise the insociable births of the deserters; Far stronger are the bonds that bind man unto society, and peace with all that are peaceable;

"The peace of mortal man with immortal God is an orderly obedience unto His eternal law, performed in faith. Peace of man and man is a mutual concord: peace of a family, an orderly rule and subjunction amongst the parts thereof: peace of a city, an orderly command, and obedience amongst the citizens; peace of God's city a most orderly coherence in God, and fruition of God" peace of all things is a well disposed order. For order is a good disposition of discrepant parts, each in the fittest place and therefore the miserable (as they are miserable) are out of order, wanting that peaceable and unperturbed state which order exacts. But because their own merits have incurred this misery, therefore even herein they are imposed in a certain set order howsoever. Being not conjoined with the blessed, but served from them by the law of order, and being exposed to miseries, yet these are adapted unto the places wherein they are resident and so are digested into some kind of methodical form, and consequently unto some peaceful order. But this is their misery, that although that some little security wherein they live may exempt them from present sorrows, yet are they not in that state which secludes sorrow for ever, and affords eternal security. And their misery is far greater if they want the peace of nature; and, when they are offended, the part that grieves is the first disturber of their peace: for that which is neither offended, nor dissolve preserves the peace of nature still. So, then, as one may possibly live without grief, but cannot possibly grieve unless he lives; so may there be peace without any war or contention: but contention cannot be without some peace (not as it is contention, but) because the contenders do suffer and perform diverse things herein according to nature's postscript, which things could not consist, had they not some peaceful order amongst them."

Peace in general is the aim of every society, earthly and heavenly. The earthly city has, however, a limited objective, viz., an ordered relation of man with one another. The heavenly city has a superior aim, viz., the peace of God, "The most orderly and concordant partnership in the fruition of God and of one another in God." Augustine does not minimise the importance of the peace of the earthly city. It is a secular and so it cannot be the final end. The peace of the earthly city is a good, though not the highest good. The Christian relation to the secular power is clear: "they need the security and order which it provides in

order to be free from disturbance and molestation in the performance of their religious duties. They must, therefore, respect the laws, by which this security is maintained and render obedience to the power by whom the laws are enforced. In respect of their willingness to obey they will not be distinguished from those who are citizens of the earthly society alone. They will differ from them only in the spirit with which their obedience is rendered. For the others, the attainment of the earthly peace is an end in itself, but they will use the earthly peace as a means to the attainment of heavenly peace so that you see, the "Heavenly City" observes and respects this temporal peace here on earth and the coherence of men's wills in honest morality, as far as it may with a safe conscience; yea, and so far desires it, making use of it for the attainment of the peace eternal: which is so truly worthy of that name, as that the orderly and uniform combination of men in the fruition of God, and of one another in God, is to be accounted the reasonable creature's only peace which being once attained, mortality is banished, and life then is the true life indeed, nor is the carnal body any more an encumbrance to the soul, by corruptibility, but is now become spiritual, perfected and entirely subject unto the sovereignty of the will."¹³

The following passages¹⁴ make Augustine's views more clear:

"All temporal things are referred unto the benefit of the peace which is resident in the terrestrial city, by the members thereof; and unto the use of the eternal peace, by the citizens of the Heavenly society * * * Now God, our good master, teaching us in the two great commandments the love of Him, and the love of our neighbour, to love three things, God, our neighbour, and ourselves and seeing he that loves God, offends not in loving himself: it follows that he ought to counsel his neighbour to love God, and to provide for him in the love of God, sure he is commanded to love him, as his own self. So must he do for his wife, children, family, and all men besides: and wish likewise that his neighbour would do as much for him, in his need; thus shall he be settled in peace, and orderly concord with all the world. The order whereof is, first, to do no man hurt, and secondly, to help all that he can. So that his own have the first place, in his care, and thus, his place and order in human society affords him more conveniency to benefit. Whereupon St. Paul says, "He that provideth not for his own, and, namely, for them that be of his household, denieth the faith and is worse than an infidel." For this is the foundation of domestic peace, which is, an orderly rule, and subjection in the parts of the family, wherein the provisors are the commanders, as the husband over his wife; parents

over their children, and masters over their servants; and they that are provided for, obey, as the wives do their husbands, children their parents, and servants their masters. But in the family of the faithful man, the heavenly pilgrim, there the commanders are indeed the servants of those they seem to command: ruling not in ambition, but being bound by careful duty; not in proud sovereignty, but nourishing pity."

Then comes the conception of "life eternal."¹⁵

"We may therefore say that peace is our final goal, as we said of life eternal: because the Psalm says unto that city whereof we write this laborious work: "Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem. praise thy Lord, O Sion: for He hath made fast the bars of thy gates, and blessed thy children within thee; He giveth peace in thy borders." When the bars of the gates are fast, as none can come in, so none can go out. And therefore this peace which we call final, is the borders and bounds of this city: for the mystical name hereof, Jerusalem, signifies 'a vision of peace'; but, because the name of peace is ordinary in this world where eternity is not resident, therefore we choose rather to call the bound wherein the chief good of this city lies, 'life eternal', rather than 'peace'.

To avoid any misinterpretation of this 'life eternal' Augustine gives a precise meaning to it—"the main end of this city's aim is either to be called Eternity in peace, or Peace in eternity." It is a universal peace, based on the bond of the love of God. This world-order is not, to be precise, a system of states. It is rather a system of individuals bound by a common love of God transcending the division of States. It is a religious order, though Augustine's inspiration might not have been solely religious. There was the *Pax Romana* which he saw with his own eyes. There was Plato's negative conception of peace that in a world of ideal states there would be no war. But while Plato's peace is positive only in the relation of individual within the State, Augustine's positive peace is extended to the whole world.

How, then, did Augustine stand in relation to the great human problem of his day, viz., the institution of slavery? In his view the origin of slavery lay in the sin committed by the slave.¹⁶ "Witness that holy man of God, Daniel, who being in captivity, confessed unto his Creator that his sins, and the sins of the people were the real causes of that captivity.

"Sin, therefore, is the mother of servitude, and first cause of man's subjection to man."

Did Augustine then mean that slaves were more sinful than their masters? Is the condition of any particular slave simply a retribution for his individual sin? Augustine is silent on these

points. On the other hand, he says, "the apostle warns servants to obey their masters and to serve them with cheerfulness, and good will; to the end that if they cannot be made free by their masters, they make their servitude a freedom to themselves, by serving them, not in deceitful fear but in faithful love, until iniquity be overpassed, and all man's power and principality disannulled, and God only be all in all."

Here Augustine is not condemning slavery. Aristotle condemned legal slavery (making a prisoners-of-wars slaves) and his natural slave was naturally fitted to be so. Aristotle also held out the prospect of ultimate emancipation. Augustine, however, does not condemn slavery but regards it as divinely ordained for the retribution of sin. If then he believes that slavery as an institution is a collective retribution upon the human race, it is equally necessary to prove that the whole human race is doomed to slavery. The fact that he saw was that some individuals were condemned to slavery while others were elevated to mastery over them. Augustine cut himself off from the traditional justification of slavery and offered a theological justification and in consequence it was possible for later Christians to maintain that slavery was not justifiable at all.

* * *

In *De Civitate Dei* which contains a general statement of the Christian view of history there are some basic presuppositions.

Firstly, it assumes the fundamental unity of the human race, that it is God's dispensation because of original sin that some men would live an eternal life according to the Spirit, while others would live according to the flesh and suffer eternal condemnation.

Secondly, there is a divine law regulating the course of human history, the rise and fall of nations, the growth and decay of empires. In this view of history there is no element of chance or fate. There is a divine will or plan shaping human destiny.

Thirdly, man by the strength of his genius and knowledge is destined to progress and the fact that he has passed through different epochs or ages is a proof that he must rise from the temporal to the eternal. The progress of humanity may resemble the progress of the individual, though in many respects the analogy does not hold good.

Fourthly, Augustine assumes that the different epochs of history are characterized by their peculiar features. Before Christ human society was preparing itself for the Gospel; after Christ came the time for the diffusion of the Gospel. Again, the history of humanity had its age of youth dominated by nature, its age of

manhood dominated by law, and its old age dominated by grace¹⁷ (which is the whole Christian era).

Fifthly, there is a messianic idea in the pages of Augustine that Christ would return to establish the City of God over the ruins of the earthly city. This idea of Augustine continued to dominate the mediaeval mind. In the Middle ages human society was conceived as organised in one polity in the preparation for the time when Christ would come back to judge the future of each individual soul, to condemn the wicked to eternal torment and gather the righteous to enjoy for ever the blessings of the heavenly kingdom. In this respect, of course, the Augustinian philosophy of history emphasised the importance of the moral and spiritual in the life and movement of humanity.

Throughout his view of history Augustine sought to assert the truth that no man owes an absolute allegiance to any earthly society. The State or family or for that matter any civil society cannot claim the entire devotion of the individual. Our ultimate allegiance is to God which in reality indicates the religious order. We must resist the State if it seeks to intervene in matters of religion. Augustine's is not a doctrine of anarchy. Rather he expects the individual to obey the civil law which itself is sanctioned by a higher authority. But Augustine underlines the difference between the secular and religious spheres of life. The Christian, then, like Plato's philosopher will perform his civil duties out of obedience to a higher authority. The distinction is fundamental and affects even the substance of the controversy between the Catholic and the Protestant Churches. Both agree that there is an authority higher than the State and political authority is itself derived from the sanction of this superior authority. But Catholicism attributes this higher authority to the Church on earth while Protestantism reserves it to Biblical revelation and the dictates of individual conscience. Perhaps both the interpretations can be supported from the writings of Augustine.

Augustine made the fundamental mistake of transforming the history of the Jewish people as recorded in the Canonical books of Scripture into the history of mankind. He sought the confirmation of his own universal theological view in the history of a particular people and ignored the history of the other important races of mankind. In asserting that man's ultimate devotion was to the Church and that secular life might better be ignored, he denied the dualistic theory of authority in society. He denied the unity of humanity when he drew the distinction between the master and the slave. The 'earthly city' with all its sin and suffering was no less permanent than the celestial city so that in

Augustine's estimate, the ultimate goal of secular society is one of decay and destruction. This pseudo-philosophy reduces mankind to the condition of mere puppets—helpless pawns in the game played on the board of infinity between God and the Devil. Throughout the thousand years of the Middle ages Augustine's picture of the ultimate fate must have acted like a nightmare obsession to the Christians.

Is the Christian view of history adequate? Can a religious view of history ever be scientific?

It is only a religion like Judaism or Christianity which accepts a 'personal' God that can have anything to say about history at all. It is because God is a living God that he is active in history. On this point the theological doctrine of revelation is illuminating. But the Augustinian philosophy of history fails to appreciate art, literature, politics, law and other aspects of human life and culture. If human history is a faithful record of human civilization, then we must accept the truth of the fundamental movement in human history, the persistent forward march along a few main lines. It will not do for us to ascribe the development of civilization to the laws of God for that will be a confession of faith or of ignorance. It will not do for us to accept the melancholy Augustinian doctrine that the earthly city would perish and out of its ruins the celestial city would be established. It means ignoring the fundamental truth that there are many factors shaping human culture and human progress. It is possible that many types of human culture do not develop at all. They become blind alleys as Toynbee has called them. But no philosophy of history can ignore the basic factors which explain the course of history, though historians themselves do not agree as to those basic factors. Others like Spengler may look upon national cultures almost as living beings with distinct stages of birth, youth, maturity, old age and death. But the truth is that if a philosophy is likely to assist in the explanation and elucidation of the present, it can not base itself solely on a theological or religious study of history. Augustine's philosophy of history is a definitely unsuccessful attempt. It contains neither philosophy nor history, but merely theology and fiction. All that Augustine says about the *Civitas Dei*—that is, about the four successive pagan empires of the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians and Romans—is utter nonsense and a travesty of fact.

We can not however blame Augustine for not producing a philosophy on history in the modern sense of that phrase. He is

a theologian and his works can not be approached from 'the outside'. It is only in St. Thomas Aquinas that the tension between Aristotelianism and Augustinianism is resolved.

The fundamental question that lies behind the Christian view of history is—Did Jesus Christ himself expect a speedy end to the world and the revelation of a supernatural Messianic Kingdom? This is the eschatological aspect of the Christian view of history. Whatever might be the earlier expectation of Jesus about the immediate revelation of the Kingdom of God, he did not see any sign of it. As Albert Schweitzer explains.¹⁸ "This fact Jesus can only explain to himself by supposing that there is still some event which must take place first. Wrestling with the fact that the Kingdom of God still fails to appear there dawns on Him the perception that it can only come when He, as the Messiah-to-be, has by suffering and death made atonement for those who have been elected to the Kingdom, and thereby saved them from the necessity of going through the pre-Messianic Tribulation.

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"The idea, then, with which Jesus meets death is that God is willing to accept His self-chosen death as an atonement made for believers, and therefore, straightaway refrains from inflicting the pre-Messianic Tribulation, in which they would otherwise have to be purified by suffering and dying and show themselves worthy of the Kingdom of God.

* * *

Jesus expects then, through the effect of His atoning death, to bring in the Messianic Kingdom immediately without any preliminary Tribulation. He tells His judges that they will see Him as the Son of Man seated at the right hand of God and coming on the clouds of heaven (Marks XIV. 62).

"Since on the morning after the Sabbath the disciples find the grave empty, and in their enthusiastic expectation of the glory in which their Master is soon to appear, have visions of Him as risen from the grave, they are certain that He is with God in heaven, soon to appear as Messiah and bring in the Kingdom."

Schweitzer maintains in his *Secret of the Messiahship and the Passion* that Jesus did not share the simple realistic expectation about the Messiah which was at that time widely spread among the Jewish people.

A religious philosophy of history can not avoid coming to terms with historical truth. Religious truth varies from age to age, though the ethical and spiritual nature of that truth is the

same in all ages. Historically speaking, Jesus Christ's religion of love which appeared as an element in the late-Jewish eschatological world-view expecting a speedy end of the world came in contact with the late-Greek, the mediaeval and the modern world-views. Jesus emphasized the spiritual aspect of love as a preparation of the heart for the Kingdom of God. To that extent there is an eternal, universal element in the Christian philosophy of history. But to emphasize the eschatological Messianic world-view in the dogmatic fashion of Augustine is to forget the historical truth that the Christian religion of love was conditioned by time. It is now possible for Christian thought, as Schweitzer maintains, to adopt as its own Jesus' religion of a Kingdom of God to be founded on earth. The essence of Christianity is world-affirmation which has gone through an experience of world-negation. In the eschatological world-view of world-negation Jesus proclaims the ethic of active love. Knowledge of spiritual truth is not called upon to prove its genuineness by showing further knowledge about the events of world-history and matters of ordinary life. Its province lies on a quite different level from the latter's, and it is quite independent of it.

The fundamental approach of theologians and the Christian apologists to the philosophy of history comes from an attempt to justify God's ways to man, to solve the problem of evil and to explain the course of history by a divine providence. The writers of the Old Testament as also St. Augustine worked on the same theme. It is also partially visible in Bossuet's *Discourse on Universal History* (1681), in Vico's *Scienza Nuova* (1725-30) and in Hegel's *Philosophy of History* ('the justification of God in history'). But the secular counterpart of all these speculations is more important.

¹ Professor Kirsopp Lake—*The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ* (pages 155-156) published by Williams and Norgate in the Crown theological Library.

² Harnack, *The Mission and expansion of Christianity*, Vol. I, pp. 240-41.

³ Flint: *The Philosophy of History*, page 63.

⁴ Flint: *The Philosophy of History*, page 63-64.

⁵ *De Civitate Dei* (Dod's translation), Vol. I, page 438.

⁶ *Ibid*, Vol. I, page vii.

⁷ *Ibid*, Vol. II, page 219 (Babylon, like a first Rome, ran its course along with the city of God, which is a stranger in this world. But the things proper for insertion in this work in comparing the two cities, that is the earthly and heavenly, ought to be taken mostly from the Greek and Latin kingdoms, where Rome herself is like a second Babylon').

⁸ *Ibid*, Vol. II, pp. 50-51.

⁹ *Ibid*, Vol. II, page II, page 54.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, page 341.

¹¹ Laws, I, VI, 18-1, vii, 23, The Translation of Cicero's. *The Republic* and the *Laws* by C. W. Keyes, in the Loeb Classical Library (Heinemann, 1928).

¹² *Civitas Dei*, IV (translated by John Healey, 1610).

¹³ *Civitas Dei*, XIX, 12 and 13.

¹⁴ *Civitas Dei*, XIX, 17.

¹⁵ *Civitas Dei*, XIX, 11.

¹⁶ *Civitas Dei*, XIX, 11.

¹⁷ *Civitas Dei*, XIX, 15, 16.

¹⁸ Robert Flint has explained the different periods, not depending so much on the *De Civitate Dei* as on an earlier work, the *De Genesi Contra Manichaeos*.

¹⁹ Albert Schweitzer in *My Life and Thought*, Ch. IV.

Folk Ritual Drawing of Bengal

A Study in Origins

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Folk ritual (ceremonial or decorative) drawing or painting is called in Bengali *ālpana* or *ālpanā* colloquially *ālpanā* or *ālpanā*, presumably from Sanskrit *ālepana* or *ālpana* meaning smearing, liquid drawing, plastering in an extended sense, etc. The term *ālpana* is derived from *āl* i.e. to anoint or besmear. It has been, however, suggested that the Bengali term *ālpanā* or *ālpanā* or *ālpanā* is of indigenous origin from 'āl' or 'āl' having the meaning of "the art of drawing *āl* or embankment". Accordingly, it is opined that the "derivation of *ālpanā* of a Sanskrit root may be grammatically right but falsifies the real meaning of the word". There, however, appears to be a greater possibility of its non-sanskritic origin than its derivation from *āl*. Apparently the term *ālpanā* seems to have been derived from the Sanskrit *ālepana* or *ālpana*. The word *ālpanā* or *ālpanā* is now generally used in the sense of any decorative design drawn with rice-paste diluted in water on all socio-religious occasions. The meaning and the implication of the term *ālpanā* become more clear from Sriharsha's *Naishadhacharita* which refers to the very word *ālepana*. The commentator explains the word as follows:

Chatushka-nimānārtham haridrā-chuṇa-miśritam taṇḍula-piṣṭam tasya dānē ālēpa-karaṇe kuśalālepanam haridayā miśritam tandulapiṣṭam"². Here Īśānadeva refers to *ālepana* as an application of paint or white-wash. *Ālepana* is also *piṣṭho-daka* i.e. flour-water. In the text we have *ālepanadāna-paśutā*. The commentator says that *ālepana* is rice-paste mixed with turmeric, a composition for painting floors and walls. Thus *ālepana* has been used by Sriharsha in its local and popular sense.

In earlier Sanskrit literature on arts, drawing on the ground

with powdered colours is called *dhūli-chitra* i.e. *chitra* drawn with *dhūli* or dust, similar to the *ālpanās* drawn with powdered colours³. In eastern Bengal, however, instead of *ālpanā* or *ālpanā* we have the common use of the term *chittir* derived from the Sanskrit word *chitra* meaning painting or drawing in general. According to the *Silparatna* "the representation (*karaṇam*) of whatsoever there may be in the three worlds, animate or inanimate, in accordance with its individual nature is called *chitram* or art." *Chitram* is here used in the sense of all sorts of representation. The *Silparatna* also refers to the different categories of this art such as (a) *chitra* i.e. sculpture, (b) *ardha-chitra* i.e. reliefs, (c) *chitra-bhāsha* i.e. painting, (d) ordinary *chitra-bhāsha* on the walls, (e) *dhūli-chitra* and (f) *rasa-chitra* i.e. painting⁴. Of these, *chitra-bhāsha* and *dhūli-chitra* may be applicable to the different varieties of *ālpanā*-painting. Women of eastern Bengal generally use the term *chittir* to mean all sorts of drawing or painting drawn with powdered or liquid colours.

Folk ritual or ceremonial painting or drawing drawn with powdered colours or liquid rice-paste representing different designs and patterns is more or less common to most parts of India. The important centres of the type of Bengali ritual painting are Orissa, southern India, western India and parts of central India and Rajasthan. In all these places this folk ritual painting is known by different names such as *jhuñti*, *rañgoli*, *kolam* (*muggi* of the Gollas), etc., of Orissa, Gujarat and southern India. There are again local varieties and peculiarities regarding pigments, techniques, forms, designs and contents. As for instance, in southern India colour is used but little excepting red dots, and the design is primarily geometrical. But it is in Bengal, Orissa and Gujarat that we have the variety and richness of this folk ritual art. Bengali *ālpanā*-painting, no doubt, resembles to a certain extent the *jhuñti* and *rañgoli* paintings of Orissa and Gujarat. But the *ālpanā*-painting of Bengal has an integrity and individuality of its own. The *Dīwālī* painting of Maharashtra contains most diverse and complicated motifs and designs like those of the sun, the moon, temple, house, human figures, etc. But unfortunately, these drawings lack that naturalistic quality, primitive vigour and vitality which characterise the Bengali *ālpanā*-painting.

Again, the folk ritual art in all these places is entirely a domestic art, a monopoly of the women folk. The *ālpanā*-art is after all the creation of the women who have preserved its techniques, forms, designs, contents, etc., from generation to generation beginning from a dateless antiquity. Mention may also be made here that amongst many primitive tribes as well, the ritual art is

primarily the work of the women folk. Even the primitive Vedda drawings were usually made by the woman⁵. It is in this folk ritual art that the women display their faiths and beliefs, traditions and customs which go back to a hoary past. Women of different parts of India have, through their devotion to domestic socio-religious rites and practices, so long succeeded in preserving this art from decay and death. But unfortunately, the high speed wheels of modern civilisation and the modern ways of life have combined to push this folk ritual art not only to the background but almost into disuse.

Literary references, both Sanskrit and Bengali, to the drawing of the paintings on the ground, wooden-seats, boards, etc., on different festive occasions are common. Detailed description of the principles of painting with different colours is to be found in the *Vishṇudharmottara-purāṇa* and the *Silparatna*. We are also told of permanent and temporary decorations on the floors, walls and ceilings of the private houses, palaces and temples. Early Buddhist literature and the Epics are replete with the descriptions of such paintings of different varieties. We have not only references to portraiture and mural paintings but also to such drawings or paintings called *lepya-chitras*, *lekhyā-chitras*, *dhūli-chitras*, etc. These appear to be of the nature and character of the *ālpanā*-painting. Besides, the classical Sanskrit literature are full of references to *chitrālekha*, *yamapaṭas*, etc. An earlier reference to the drawing or painting with rice powder or unbrokēn rice is to be found in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. While dealing with sixty four arts Vātsyāyana refers to '*tanḍulakusumāvalīvikārāḥ*' which means drawing of lotus with unbroken rice, or creepers, etc., with flowers, and the drawing of circles with '*tanḍula-chūrṇa*' or rice powder⁶. A still earlier reference regarding the drawing on the ground for the installation of the deities can be obtained from Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. We are told that a *maṇḍala* (circle) should be drawn, and in the middle "two lines vertically and horizontally shall be drawn", and in the apartments made by these lines different deities are to be installed^{6a}. There are also references to the plastering of the walls and then the execution of the paintings depicting creepers, men, women, etc.^{6b} Bāṇa in his *Kādambarī* refers to the drawing of circles and the performance of auspicious rites on them⁷. References are also to be found in a number of texts regarding the *paṭa-chitras* and *chāraṇa-chitras* i.e. scroll paintings and drawings intended for instruction and enlivening the minds of the people. Besides, such paintings were also meant for magical and ritualistic practices. This is abundantly clear from the texts just referred to. Even religious teachers used

paintings as the most popular means of communication that could be understood by the illiterate and the child. "They make (portable) framework upon which they cause to be drawn a variety of pictures, depicting scenes of evil and good destinies, of fortunes and misfortunes, and causing the labels to be inscribed: 'By doing this deed, one attains this', and 'by doing that, one attains that'—thus showing different destinies, they wander about with these pictures⁸." Though these are not real folk ritual *ālpanās*, it is nevertheless clear that even these ordinary folk paintings had a magical significance. The *Naishadhacharita*, however, makes it clear that the *ālpanās* were drawn on marriage and other festive occasions⁹ (*tadā vtvāhasamayē kachit ālepanasya sudhādēḥ dānam dhavalam . . . tadā kvachit sthāne lepanadānē sudhā-lepachitrādikarmaṇ pasutā*). The term used therein is *chatushka* i.e. ornamental designs of various shapes like the lotus blossoms, *svastikas*, etc., painted on the floors, altars and the like¹⁰. Mention is also made in this connection to the very term *ālepana*. It also occurs in *Chandraprabhācharita*, in Vatsyārāja's *Hāsyachūdāmaṇi* and in the *Sādhanamālā*. The Tantrik texts are full of detailed descriptions of the drawing of various sorts of diagrams and numerous geometrical designs with dry colours for the performance of magical rites¹¹. Here it would also be interesting to mention the references to the folk ritual drawings of southern India made by Haradatta (not later than 1300 A.D.) in his commentary on Āpastamba and Gautama *Grihyasūtras*. Haradatta while commenting on a passage of Āpastamba says, "*tatra dramiḍāḥ kanyā-meshashthe savitayādityapūjā-mācharanti bhūmau maṇḍalamālikshetyādīnyudāharāṇāni*". Thus here we have reference to a practice of the *Draviḍa* country where the sun is worshipped by drawing a *maṇḍala* on the ground¹². Similarly Haradatta commenting on Gautama refers to an usage prevalent in the Chola country. He says that the maidens draw an orb of the sun on the ground with powders of colour and offer worship in the morning and evening¹³. These are undoubtedly similar to the *vratā*-ritual *ālpanā*-paintings of Bengal. But a more detailed description of such paintings can be gleaned from medieval Bengali literature. In folk oral literature as well, we have beautiful descriptions of *ālpanā*-paintings. In the collection of eastern Bengali ballads edited by Dr. D. C. Sen, we have a lively description of the *ālpanā* drawing by a woman¹⁴.

This *ālpanā*-painting is drawn on the floors on all festive occasions in all parts of India. Again, in many parts of West Bengal, Orissa, southern India and western India paintings are also drawn on the walls of the houses, both inside and outside,

just as the primitive tribes do even now. As a rule all these socio-religious *ālpanā* designs, forms, motifs and shapes have become conventionalised, the underlying motive behind being the practice of magic. Here we shall try to illustrate this process by reference to a close study of the *ālpanās* of some of the *kumārī-vratas* of Bengal where we have the real expression of the ideas and actions of the common people. A reference to the *vrata*-rites of Bengal of which the *ālpanās* form an integral part may be helpful in this particular study.

The *Vrata* is a vowed observance, a religious act of devotion and austerity. There are *śāstrīya* and *aśāstrīya vrata*-rites—the former being performed mostly by married women while the latter by maidens, and are called *kumārī-vratas*¹. It is in these *kumārī-vrata* rites that we can detect the primitive magico-religious elements. Here we can trace the rites and the practices that are current amongst the peoples of primitive culture—rites and practices that grew out of the hard socio-economic requirements of life. That folk rites and practices are nothing but a reflection of the primitive rites and practices will be evident from their close similarity and inherent affinity; indeed, the ideas and aspirations governing both are the same. Like the primitives the maidens are not satisfied simply by doing certain things; they also express their desires in the form of speeches which are the *chhaḍās* or spells uttered or chanted during the observance of the rite, and they believe that the words uttered have the power of fulfilling their desires. Like the primitives they too have their desires reflected or represented in drawings and paintings on the ground upon which or in front of which the specific rites are observed for the obtainment of their desired objects. Again, like the primitives they also associate with or ascribe to nature or natural objects, superhuman or supernatural elements. Thus they create deities and associate them with respective rites and practices which they observe. Like the primitives they also feel and believe that the future event is actually present, and cause and effect get mixed up as one single unit. They thus display an ingenuity that implies an accurate observation of cause and effect relation. Obviously, the maidens of Bengal practise sympathetic magic. It is, however, to be noted that individual desires and individual rites and practices cannot be called pure *vrata*-rites. A *vrata*-rite, to be specially called as such, must be observed collectively by the people having the same emotions and feelings. At least, the individual desires must have a collective basis. The *vrata*-rites are really observed for collective socio-economic prosperity. In fact, the *vrata* is the observance of uttering, representing and illustrating a strongly

felt emotion or desire by representations, by making or doing or encircling the objects of the acts desired.

Accordingly, it would be profitable for our purpose to enter into a comparative study of the *kumārī-vrata-ālpanās* of Bengal with similar *ālpanās* of other parts of India and also with the drawings and paintings of the primitive tribes, particularly of India. This *ālpanā*-art is essentially naive and non-academic. It is founded on the traditional technique. Therefore, this ritual painting can be easily well comparable to the primitive art only if the survival elements predominate. The primitive art, nevertheless, gives a reflection of the mind and actions of the common people and accordingly disregards physical accuracy. It follows established traditions and customs. All the art forms have imitative and magical existence. The artists, no doubt, participate in nature and sentiment. But, after all, their art is imitative rather than aesthetic or intellectual. It will be seen that the *ālpanā*-paintings are in essence magical drawings, and in their methods of preparing the background and drawings, in their forms, motifs, designs and patterns and even in pigments, they are very much akin to the primitive magical or ritual drawings or paintings. Particular reference may also be made here to the Tantrik *yantras* or diagrams which are considered to be effective in diverse magical operations.

PREPARATION OF BACKGROUND FOR *Ālpanā*-DRAWINGS

Most of the *vrata-ālpanās* are drawn on the floors of the house or on the courtyard. On other festive occasions *ālpanās* are also drawn on the *chaukis* (four-legged wooden platforms), *pidīs* (low wooden seats), *ghaṭas* (earthen pots), walls, etc. Particular care is taken for the preparation of the background on all these objects. Both amongst the primitives and the rural folks of West Bengal, Orissa and southern India, the walls of the house are made smooth and often uniformly covered with red earth, which form the background for drawing. Sometimes in Orissa the decorations or paintings inside the house are made on a background of white chalk-paint.¹⁶ In the case of drawing or painting on the wooden seat or *chauki*, etc., the latter is washed clean with water and then kept in the sun for drying.

But the majority of the magico-religious folk paintings are, however, drawn either on the floor of the house or on the ground of the courtyard. Among primitive tribes as well, the magical drawings are mostly done on the ground, particularly of the courtyard.¹⁷ On a few occasions, however, drawings with liquid colours

are done on stones, walls, etc.^{17a} Similarly the *vrata-ālpanās* are also mostly done on the floors of the house or on the courtyard and on lesser occasions, on the walls. Only in certain *vrata* observances of some districts the *ālpanās* are often drawn on the roof of the building, as for example, in *Sandhyāmaṇi-vrata*. In southern India, Orissa and Bengal, in the early morning the womenfolk generally clean the courtyard with a duster, called in Bengali, *pichhā* or *jhātā*, and plaster the ground with cow-dung mixed with water. In the *vrata-ālpanās* as well, the selection of the spot is made first and then cleaned with duster and later on anointed with cow-dung mixed with water. Cow-dung, amongst a number of primitive tribes, has always been considered to be the most purifying element. Sacredness attached to the cow imparted further impetus to the rural folk to regard cow-dung not only as a purifying element but also a sacred one. Further, it is a common practice with many primitive tribes to prepare the background for magico-religious drawings by besmearing it with cow-dung mixed in water¹⁸. Some tribes, again, prepare the background simply by clay mixed with water. The Australian aboriginals prepare the ground for ritual or magical drawings by patting it with hands along with sprinkling of water. This surface is then besmeared with a wash of red and yellow ochre.¹⁹ Amongst the Khonds of India, however, a simple smooth earth, sometimes washed with red clay, forms the background. On rare occasions only cow-dung is used.²⁰ The Gonds draw their figures on an entirely white background.²¹ But the Muṇḍā tribes of Chotanagpur always prepare the background for ritual drawings with cow-dung diluted in water. Thus amongst the Bihors the *āṅgan* or the courtyard is cleaned with cow-dung mixed with water.²² Similarly, the Miṇḍās and the Orāons prepare the background with this sort of liquid produced by diluting cow-dung with water. This kind of preparation of the background with cow-dung liquid for drawing or painting has also been considered to be of utmost importance in many Sanskrit texts on arts.²³

INGREDIENTS USED IN *Ālpanā*-PAINTING: SIGNIFICANCE

Ingredients or pigments used in drawing or painting for the observance of the *vrata-rites* may be grouped under two heads: dry pigment and liquid pigment. The former consists of powdered dust of different coloured materials. The most common powder used for *ālpanā*-painting is rice-powder produced by powdering *ātap-rice* or *ālā-chāul* made from unboiled and sun-dried paddy by pestle and mortar, and in eastern Bengal, by

dheñki. This white ingredient of rice-powder is also most extensively used in southern and western India. Other coloured powders are produced from various other articles, such as red from burnt earth or burnt brick or burnt earth from the oven (*chulā-māṭi*), black from charcoal-dust (*aṅgār*), green from the dried up leaves (particularly from *bel*-leaves) and yellow from turmeric (*hāridrā*). In southern and western India vermilion (*śindur*) and *ābīr* are most commonly used in all folk socio-religious drawings. In Bengal as well, in some ceremonial drawings different colours in the form of powder are still used. These are, red, green, yellow and black—red from *kusuma*-flower, white from the ground rice, yellow from turmeric, green from crushed dried up *bilva*-leaves and black from the paddy-husk burnt and pulverised.²⁴ The *yañtras* or the Tantrik symbols or diagrams are also drawn with similar five powdered colours called *pañchaguṇa*.²⁵ In Orissan folk drawings chalk is now most extensively used. Thus auspicious designs are drawn in front of the house with chalk on the occasion of the visit of any important person of the locality.²⁶ In southern India ingredients mostly used are rice-flour, rarely burnt rice-husk, turmeric powder and powdered green-leaves. Powdered colours are not, however, generally used in our *Kumārī-vrata-ālpanās*. It is only in *Māghamaṇḍala-vrata* that elaborate painting is drawn with different powdered colours.

Most of our Bengali *ālpanās* are drawn with a kind of liquid produced by diluting pasted *ālā-chāul* (*ātap-chāul*) with water. This is locally called *piṭhulī*. Generally *ālā-chāul* is pasted or ground on a *pātā* (grinding stone) and then diluted with water. Sometimes powdered rice or rice-flour prepared by a *dheñki* (a kind of husking apparatus made of wooden beams and pestle) is also mixed with a required quantity of water for the preparation of the said liquid. Today in certain parts of Orissa this form of white liquid is produced by mixing white chalk-powder with water.²⁷ Other powdered pigments in Orissa, like red, yellow and vermilion, are purchased from the local market and then mixed with water in the half portion of a coconut-shell; black and green pigments are, however, made from burnt or dried leaves.

All these pigments or ingredients for drawing or painting have been in use from times immemorial. Even the primitive tribes of today draw numerous figures and designs with these pigments for the performance of their magico-religious rites. In most of the drawings of the Indian primitive tribes rice-powder or rice-flour is almost universally used as it is considered to be the most potent colour for the purpose. Of the other dusts and

powders used by the primitive tribes mention may be made of charcoal-dust and hearth-earth, black and red.²⁸ The Australian aborigines use mostly white of pipe-clay, black of powdered charcoal and red from red-ochre.²⁹ In this connection it may also be noted that the Veddas of Ceylon give black marks with charcoal-paste and brownish marks with turmeric.³⁰

The use of liquid prepared by diluting ground-rice or rice-flour with water in drawing and painting is also very common amongst most of the primitive tribes. With the Mexicans it is a common custom to draw diagrams with this sort of liquid for the performance of magico-religious rites. The Orāons of Chotanagpur draw designs and figures with the liquid prepared by moistening rice-flour with water. Thus the Orāon woman "paints ornamental figures on the *pūulku* (stone-slab) with rice-flour moistened with water".³¹ The Gāros during the harvest festivals mix rice-flour with water for magical drawing.³² The Nāgās use this liquid for painting the walls of their houses.³³ The Sāorās also make the most elaborate painting with rice-flour mixed with water. But amongst the Khonds we have the use of millet-flour mixed with water.³⁴ The Gonds again make the drawings in red and black. In the *Vāstupūjā* festival of Bengal, the Chāṇḍālas "pound rice and work it up into a thin paste, and colouring it red or yellow, dip a reversed cup into the mess and stamp circular marks with it on the ground in front of the house and on the flanks of the village cattle with the object of preserving the village and its property against evil spirits".³⁵ It is believed by all these people that the observance of rites on the paintings or drawings done with rice-paste or rice-flour mixed with water would produce bumper crops. To all agricultural and rice-eating peoples rice is considered to be most sacred; this explains why even today in Bengal paddy, paddy-plants and rice are identified with Lakshmī, the goddess of wealth, plenty and good luck. It is with the same motivation that the women draw paddy plants on the ground during the *Lakshmī-pūjā-vrata* and use rice and paddy in many other socio-religious performances.

It is to be made clear in this connection that all these colours, besides being meant for decoration or ornamentation, contain magical properties, and they are used with the primary object of performing magical rites. Colour has not only magical potency but often symbolises the spirits, regions, deities, etc. This becomes clear from the folk and the primitive concepts of colours. Amongst many primitive tribes there is a fixed colour symbolism associated with the four cardinal points: white for the East, blue for the South, yellow for the West and black for the North. But

this colour concept is not uniform amongst all the tribes, as for instance, the Pueblos take yellow for the North, blue for the West, red for the South and white for the East.³⁶ Again, amongst the Cherokees red stands for the East, blue for North, black for West and white for South. Further, these colours also represent certain abstract qualities such as success, defeat, death, happiness, etc., standing for red, blue, black and white.³⁷ According to the Semitic people white symbolises purity and innocence; it represents also light. Black represents death, humiliation and mourning and blue revelation; red stands for bloodshed and green for home and resurrection.^{37a} Red again portends evil. It is capable of frightening away sickness. Blue, the colour of the heaven, is also a protective.³⁸ Amongst some people blue stands for male and yellow for female, and the pairing of blue and yellow represents the symbol of fecundity.³⁹ The American Indians consider black as the symbol of water or the female principle, and red as the sign of fire or the male principle.⁴⁰ Besides, "red is invoked to gain success in any adventure, blue to frustrate inimical persons or levying troubles upon them and the black to slay an enemy".⁴¹ Green is again considered as a colour of fertility; blue is sacred to the sky, black appropriates to the gods of Hades, and white represents the colour of the sky.^{41a} Of all colours, however, red and white are considered to be the most potent, since it is a common belief that the final success in any undertaking rests with them.⁴² In India red and yellow have the most potent power, and of these again, the power of red is greater.⁴³ In folk beliefs red and yellow also symbolise fertility; yellow is again a lucky colour and is associated with the Mother Goddess.^{43a} It is also a common belief with many primitive tribes that the spirits have special fear for three colours, namely yellow, red and black, and perhaps also for white. Spirits are particularly afraid of the black colour, and white-wash done in primitive and rural societies is directed towards scaring away evil spirits.⁴⁴ Some primitive tribes also believe that colours are not only preventives against evil spirits but also represent some natural phenomena and deities. Thus, the Orāons believe that the three colours, white, red and black, represent the rainbow and therefore, the most important factor in warding off evil spirits.⁴⁵ Again the Birhors believe that the different colours stand for different *Bongās*, black for the *Bhāghout* spirits, red for the *Nāge-erā-binḍi* and white for *Buru-Bongū*. The spirits representing these colours are also propitiated by sacrifices.⁴⁶

It is thus clear that according to the primitive and the folk concepts colour represents different regions, spirits, abstract qualities and above all, a strong magical potency. And, therefore, the

different colours used in the *vrata-ālpanās* and the *vrata* rites, appear to contain the same primitive magical import of either driving away the evil spirits and evil eyes or of representing certain deities or spirits. This symbolism of deep magical content is also present in the prescription of various colours in the painting or drawing of *Vajrayāna* and the Tantrik divinities described in the *Sādhanamālā* and other texts. Even in early Sānskrit literature we find references to different colour symbolism. Black is always considered to be bad, white as perfect, and yellow as happiness. Again, white is a human colour and yellow a solar colour.⁴⁷

TECHNIQUES AND METHODS

There exists no uniform method for drawing or painting the *ālpanās* in various parts of India. In southern and western India women first of all put some red dots and *ūbīn* or *śindur* on a selected prepared place or spot. These dots not only indicate the boundry of the area of the drawing but also considerably help in drawing lines and different motifs, thereby preventing them from going astray. The dots are joined together by pouring rice-flour from the pressing of the two fingers. The girls draw various designs so smoothly and quickly that the movements of their fingers can hardly be followed. It is really surprising that such lines never run astray from their contemplated designs. Primitive peoples also draw numerous designs with powdered colours in the same way. In Sanskrit technical texts like the *Śilparatna* we have also description of the application of powdered colours on the surface. "Ground the colours separately and spread the powders on a firm horizontal surface for a short time". This is called *dhūli-chitra* or drawing with powdered colours. Dr. Coomaraswamy says that this is "done by shifting dry coloured powders through stencils upon a smooth prepared surface, and such paintings are not intended to be preserved."⁴⁸ In the Tantrik texts elaborate rules and principles have been laid down for drawing the Tantrik symbols or diagrams. Thus the *Prapan-chasāra-Tantra* commences with numerous rules relating to the decoration of the diagrams.⁴⁹ The method of the application of powdered colours is almost similar in all these cases.

In our folk ritual drawings as well, the powdered colours are applied with fingers. In one of the *vrata-ālpanās* where powdered colours are used, the concentric circles and other designs are sometimes drawn first with a knife at a depth of $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Colours are then put into these incised lines with fingers. Thus in the *Māgha-maṇḍala-ālpanā* five concentric circles are drawn with powdered

colours indicating five years—one circle after another is to be added every year. In the first year of the rite one circle is to be drawn, and a circle is to be added each year up to the fifth year which is the last year of the observance of the rite. Similarly, other designs are also drawn. But there is little uniformity in the application of colours. Generally, however, the first line is filled with green powder produced from dried up *bilva*-leaves, the second with turmeric powder, i.e. yellow, the third with charcoal-dust or ashes, i.e. black, the fourth with burnt earth-powder and the fifth with rice-powder i.e. white. Sometimes the second and the third are filled in with black and white. The circle above indicating the sun is always coloured in red and the moon below in white, thus giving proper representations of their respective colours. In some other cases again there is a preliminary preparation of the ground either by scratching or by incision. Work is started from the central point or *bindu*, and various contemplated designs are drawn according to the plan.

It is highly interesting to note in this connection that the method of drawing with powdered colours as practised by the Mexicans, Navahos, Pueblos, etc., in America, closely resembles our *ālpanā*-drawings with powdered colours. "Here the paintings are sometimes 10' to 12' in diameter and filled with symbolism representing deities, natural phenomena and the living beings of sacred import. Sand is laid to a depth of 2" or 3" and the colours are white, yellow, red, blue and black. Working generally from the centre and according to the plan prescribed by the ritual, the artist in applying the pigments, picks up a small quantity between the first and second fingers and his opposed thumb and allows it to flow as he moves his hand. When he makes mistakes, he does not brush away the coloured powder but obliterates it by pouring sand on it; then he draws the correct design on the new surface when it is finished, the ceremonies are performed over it, and then with song the ceremony is obliterated."⁵⁰ Australian primitive tribes also follow the same method. After the ground has been smoothened, the design of concentric circles and scrolls in a field of white dots are carefully painted with traditional colours. Sometimes the white dots are put on with a brush formed by fraying out the end of a twig. But the circles are drawn with fingers without any external help. Almost similar is the practice followed in southern India.⁵¹ The accuracy of drawing of geometric figures without mechanical help is indeed surprising.

In cases of drawing or painting with *piṭhuli* or liquid of pasted rice as well, such a preparation of the ground by scratching circular lines is sometimes necessary. With the end of a thread fixed at a point by the pressing of the finger of the left hand, circular lines are drawn with the nails of the fingers of the right hand by moving the thread in circles. Only circular lines are scratched first in this way but as to the drawing of other forms and designs, no such preliminary preparation of the ground is required. This sort of preparation of the ground by scratching is necessary for preventing the circular lines from going astray. In southern India, however, the dots put at intervals maintain the symmetry and integrity of the lines and the designs drawn.

After this preliminary preparation of the ground, liquid paste or *piṭhuli* is applied by means of a *nudī* or *netā* which is a small piece of discarded cloth soaked in liquid paste and held by the tips of the two fingers of the right hand. One of the two fingers, however, remains attached to the ground or to the lines scratched, and this finger is moved according to the contemplated designs along with the pressing of the other finger. No brush is generally used for drawing these *ālpanās*. In certain places of Orissa the brush for drawing is sometimes a whisk of coconut-fibre⁵². Coconut brush has also been referred to in the *Śilparatna* for use in painting⁵³. In our *vrata-ālpanā*, however, a thin bamboo-pin is occasionally used for drawing finer lines, otherwise the *netā* serves the purpose of a brush. In *ālpanā*-paintings drawn on many festive occasions brushes of different kinds are often used. The brush is called *tuli* which is generally made of torn-out cloth pieces or fine jute-fibre. Finer brushes are of course made with human hair. Some primitive tribes like the Khonds and the Sāorās draw their ritual paintings with the help of a twig slightly splayed at the end⁵⁴.

It appears from a careful observation of the *ālpanā*-paintings that the artist generally does as she pleases. She has completely a free hand. Mostly she draws beautiful patterns freely from her mind. But she is also bound by traditions and conventions which do not always offer her a free hand. A particular creeper or a flower-pattern is to be drawn in its traditional or conventional way, and no deviation is permitted. There is hardly any technical difference in essence between the *vrata-ālpanās* and the primitive ritual drawings.

MOTIFS AND DESIGNS IN *Ālpanās*

The *vrata-ālpanā* painters produce numerous patterns and designs with a motive behind. There is little striving after the perfection of either its form or technique. They are mostly symbolical and conventional giving an expression of the folk mind and desires. Still the designs drawn are not bereft of reality and artistic feeling. The painters make every attempt to give a real or conventional representation of the objects drawn. This is in conformity with the motive behind the *vrata-rites*. All these motifs and designs are indeed of dateless antiquity, and hence it is not always possible to trace their origin to any given time and space.

Chief motifs and designs of the *Vrata-ālpanās* are the geometrical figures consisting of lines, squares, circles, concentric circles, rectangles, parallelograms, pentagons, spirals, wavy lines, etc.; plants, leaves, creepers, flowers, etc.; animals, birds and human figures; heavenly bodies like the sun, the moon and the stars. Of other miscellaneous designs mention may be made of domestic utensils, ornaments, houses, temples and many other objects that girls especially desire. But the predominant motif of the *ālpanā*-painting is geometric, not only in Bengal but also in other parts of India, e.g., Orissa, southern India, western India and Rajasthan. In *Rājasthān* the geometric figures depict the picture of a village, a town, a cultivated land with irrigation channels, etc. In Bengal, however, the geometric signs have been mostly conceived into rhythmic circular designs, and these appear to be in conformity with the geographical nature of the country. In eastern Bengal even the cultivated land is indicated in circular round design⁶. Again, circular lines represent paddy-plants. Similarly, the *Rājasthāni* paintings of different geometrical designs represent the geographical character of the land^{6a}. All other forms and designs are common in Orissa, southern India and western India. But in the latter two regions the motifs are mostly drawn with rice-flour. A particular reference may be made here to the *Dīwālī* paintings from western India as illustrated by Gupte in his work⁷. Orissan drawings are more akin to the Bengali *ālpanās* in their designs, forms and motivation. Similar motifs and designs are also common in the paintings and drawings of the primitive tribes of India and outside. In this connection it would certainly be very interesting to note that the Tantrik *yantras* like our *ālpanās* and the primitive drawings are also symbolical in character; they too contain many elements and motifs like geometrical figures, flowers, leaves, creepers, etc. As to the affinity between the designs

of the Tantrik *yantras* and the *vrata-ālpanās* we may refer to some of the geometrical designs which are common to both, the best example of which is to be found in the *Tantrarāja-Tantra* where we are told that the *śrī-yantra* is composed of nine triangles and *chakras*—one within the other until the central *bindu* is reached. Nine triangles include four with points upwards and five downwards⁵⁸.

Representations of squares, rectangles, circles, spirals, triangles, conventional human and animal figures, plants, flowers, leaves, creepers, etc., that will be found in the description of the plates (as well as in the numerous illustrations in A. N. Tagore's work on *l'āṅglār-Vrata*), are also very common in the ritual drawings of primitive tribes. In tribal ritual art the drawing of diagrams like the Tantrik diagrams is the most characteristic feature. Geometrical designs are particularly to be found in the ritual drawings of the Orāons, Bīrhors, and other tribes of Chotanagpur and the neighbouring regions. Thus about the Orāon drawings S. C. Ray says, "then he draws a diagram on the ground with coal-dust, rice-flour and hearth-earth in the shape of three concentric parallelograms with their eastern arms wiped off. The outermost lines are made of earth from the hearth and are thus red in colour, the intermediate lines with rice-flour and are thus white in colour, and the innermost lines with coal dust and are thus black in colour". (Plate XIIIb). This is called *pimri* or the altar of the ceremony. On the other side of the innermost lines, other lines are drawn with coal-dust and on the outer side of the outermost, lines are drawn with *chulhāmāṭi* (burnt-earth from the oven). This altar is used for the *Kumārī-baiṭhānā* ceremony⁵⁹. Such drawings with different colours are also required for the ceremony of the cutting of the evil teeth. We are told that a little rice-flour and a little coal-dust from the hearth are placed before him, and with them he draws a diagram representing magical symbols on the ground⁶⁰. Amongst the Muṇḍās as well this sort of diagram is drawn at the '*Luturtu-kuli*' or the ear-boring ceremony. "A figure in the form of a parallelogram with diagonals is drawn in the courtyard of the baby's father's house with rice-flour dough"⁶¹. Amongst the Khāriās a lotus-like diagram is most commonly drawn. "Some Dudh-Khāriās draw a lotus-like diagram on the ground over which the tirpod is set up. The lines forming the circumference of the inner circle of this diagram are drawn with coal-dust, rice-flour, and burnt redish-earth from the hearth"⁶². (Plate XIVb). This sort of diagram is also required for the *Hoṇyoe Dibharnā* ceremony. During the *Deothān* ceremony as well geometrical figures are drawn. (Plate XIVa). These figures are

also drawn on the occasion of the *Bandi* festival in some of the Khāriā families. The diagram represents the point of the compass, and over the diagram a light is placed⁶³. But amongst the Birhors more symbolical, geometrical and linear designs are drawn. This becomes clear from Plate no. XV (a and b). During the *Tākchānrhi* ceremony two square rooms are drawn, the smaller one within the bigger one and a small circle in the centre, the four corners being joined by lines crosswise (Plate no. XVa). This is drawn on the ground with rice-flour, particularly by women⁶⁴. At the time of *Bonasonk* ceremony a magical "diagram is drawn on the ground in the *āṅgan* which has been cleaned with water, and if available, with cow-dung diluted in water. Black or coal-dust, red-earth and white are the materials used in drawing these lines"⁶⁵. Moreover at the time of the worship of different *Boṅgās* such diagrams and linear drawings are drawn. During the worship of *Oṛa-Boṅgā* a magical diagram with four compartments is drawn with rice-flour in a part of the *āṅgan*. "Around the square in each side of it three or five figures in the shape of flower petals are drawn with coal-dust, and above each of the petals two similar petal like figures are drawn one above another, the middle row with red-earth and the uppermost row with coal-dust"⁶⁶. Further, amongst the Birhors during the ceremonial worship of their totemms, magical diagrams with four compartments are drawn on the ground with rice-flour⁶⁷. Such diagrammatic representations are also to be found in the drawings made for marriage ceremonies. The Bhumi, at the time of the agricultural ceremony, paints the courtyard on which they keep a quantity of paddy to be sown and observe the rite⁶⁸. Here it would be very interesting to make a particular reference to the *Sāorā ittals* (painting) which resemble considerably the paintings of the Gonds and Pradhāns. The *Sāorā ittals* can well be compared with the more elaborate and complicated designs of the *Señjūtī* and *Bhādulī vrata-ālpanās*⁶⁹. In the *ittal*-drawing the central theme is a house represented by a square and a triangle or by a row of hatchings as we have in some of our *vrata-ālpanās*⁷⁰. In the case of the drawing of a human figure, a single triangle or two opposed triangles give an outline of the human body. In the same way the outlines of the animals are drawn. Drawings of circles, semi-circles, concentric circles, bands, etc., are also present in the arts of many other primitive tribes, even amongst the Australian aborigines⁷¹. Finally, it would be profitable to refer to the affinity between the motifs, forms and patterns of the *ālpanās* and those of the Indus Valley, that would give us ample evidence of the continuity of the same tradition. Here attention

may also be drawn to the existence of such an affinity between the folk votive clay figurines of Bengal and the Indus Valley clay figurines. They are identical in technique and purpose⁷².

SIGNIFICANCE OF MOTIFS AND DESIGNS

The purpose of this folk ritual art is entirely different from aesthetic and decorative intention of civilised art that holds most primitive forms as meaningless. Truly speaking, numerous designs, diagrams, forms, etc., which characterise this folk ritual art, are not so many meaningless forms and patterns but contain definite meanings and implications which can be expressed in words only with great difficulty. In the *ālpanās* nothing is drawn that has no meaning or application in actual life. Hence the *ālpanā*, like primitive art, seems to be invariably symbolical. Symbolism in these art forms is expressed in "representing by some simple figures an idea such as a quality or attribute of one of the deities and in representing the whole of anything by depicting some characteristic parts of it". Each form or motif of the painting has an inner application or motivation which inspires the girls to draw. It may at the same time be noted that the meanings to be derived from these art-forms do not always belong to any fixed symbolism. Kroeber, who made a critical study of the primitive decorative symbolism, had to admit that the "same pattern was interpreted in different ways, and the same idea was embodied in many different forms." Even in India the significance and interpretation of the diverse forms differ from place to place. So far there does not seem to be any fixed symbolism, and meanings may be different amongst different peoples, and it can be said that the rural folk, particularly the womenfolk, suffer from the lack of any fixed symbolism. The interpretations may, no doubt, be different but it is to be admitted at the same time that they possess a fixed conceptional content. We can, therefore, make an attempt to interpret these symbolised motifs in spite of their varied meanings and thereby arrive at a conceptional unity. For the meanings of these art-forms we shall also have to rely on the textual statements, on comparative usages and on the traditions and myths of those people who still employ these conventionalised symbols as the customary and traditional forms of their thoughts and actions. But we can receive little help today from the women or girls who draw these paintings since the tradition is all but lost. That is why we shall have to refer to those who still preserve their traditions i.e. to the primitive tribes around us and also to those traditions which have been recorded in our literature. It

is also to be noted here that the *vrata-ālpanās* can not be entirely divorced from the day to day life and its environs. Therefore, for a proper understanding and realisation of these characteristic art forms we shall have to take into consideration, the environs, the socio-economic organisation, ritual practices, etc., since they are so closely associated with the practical life of the people. Schmidt says, "we civilised men have lost the paradise of the soul of the primitive imagery. We no longer live among the shapes, which we have fashioned within; we have become mere spectators, reflecting them from without"⁷³. The common people like the primitives realise and experience life as a whole, and the reflection of their thought as expressed in their ritual arts are not merely for the delectation of their senses. As Coomaraswamy says, "the common folk lives his life in usages. He grasps it in his conception as a series of realities. His visions are not only real; they form his objective aiming at into a higher world"⁷⁴. In reality then, this folk ritual art is intimately associated with folk mythology, ritual and magic, and it is in these spheres that we can find out its meanings.

Geometrical figures, like squares, circles, crosses, triangles, dots, spirals, etc., predominate in both primitive and folk ritual drawings. The origin of these geometrical designs can be traced back to the pre-historic period, specimens of which have been revealed to us by archaeological discoveries. Long ago, Sir Flinders Petrie, while describing the Indus Valley inscriptions, asked the question as to the modern interpretation of certain signs to be found on the seals⁷⁵. Undoubtedly, some forms of answers can be found out from the living primitive and folk ritual drawings which contain, no doubt, the traditions of a hoary past. Significance and interpretation of some of the geometrical designs in our *ālpanās* can also be found out from the Tantrik symbols and designs which are primarily magical in character. Mythology and folklore of the people also sometimes throw light on many of the geometrical signs. But by far the best and the most authenticated clues are imparted by the living myths and legends current amongst the primitive tribes from whom the implications of these art forms have penetrated into the realm of the people who now claim themselves to be civilised.

Squares predominate in the *ālpanās* as well as in the Indus Valley and primitive drawings. Similar drawing of squares is also to be found in the Oriya house paintings⁷⁶. Amongst many primitive tribes and ancient cultural units, the figure of a square represents the earth and the dwelling house. In primitive America, it is believed that squares with four-knit-covers represent the four

quarters of the heaven and the four winds. This corresponds to the use of *Svastika* in America⁷⁷. Drawing of squares within a square, most probably, refers to houses in a country or in the world. That the figure of a square represents dwelling house on this earth becomes clear from the drawings in plates nos: XII, VIII, 13; X, 29, inside which human figures have been drawn. Square is also a protective against evil eyes and spirits. Thus, in Bihar, on the 12th day after the child's birth a square is drawn with vermilion on the wall of the house for the protection of the child^{77a}. Like the square, the rectangle also stands for the universe or the earth. In Egyptian hieroglyphs rectangle symbolises the universe. This was again the shape of the apartment of the temples and palaces of Chaldea, Egypt and Greece.⁷⁸ In *Sāorā ittals* and many other primitive drawings both square and rectangle stand for the earth or a house.⁷⁹ Triangle is another geometrical figure in *ālpanās*. It is also a common motif on the Indus Valley pottery.⁸⁰ Of triangles again equilateral triangles bear the most important implications. In hieroglyphs it was the emblem of worship, and the Egyptians likened it with nature. It was also a symbol of divinity. Triangular signs are most commonly used in our country as protectives in charms.⁸¹ Thus an equilateral triangle is drawn on a piece of paper which is then hung round the child's neck^{81a}. Another geometrical design is the pentagon which has been usually figured to represent a temple. It is also the symbol of the mystic number five. Its name in Greece is *penta* which also conveys the idea of the universe. Again, Ho in Maya meaning five, is also the radical hool, the head and hence deity⁸². Pentacle is also used in magical charms in many places. In Bombay it is believed that the pentacle, when enclosed in a series of circles and curves, prevents a child from crying⁸³.

But the most important geometrical signs are the circles and the concentric circles, which figure most commonly in almost all folk paintings and drawings in different parts of India. Circle motif is indeed very old. It is common on the painted pottery of the Indus Valley;⁸⁴ intersecting circle patterns also are not rare on the Indus valley painted pottery. Contiguous circle pattern is, however, rare.⁸⁵ The circle in our folk art is a *maṇḍala* which is most commonly drawn in ritual observances. In southern India the drawing of concentric circles predominates. Such circular *ālpanās* are also drawn in Bengal.⁸⁶

The circle or a *maṇḍala* stands for ancestor worship. It "indicates a mystic diagram with a circular interior, the different parts of which are painted with powders of turmeric, dried-rice, vermilion and such other ingredients on an altar or on some holy

spot".⁸⁷ Circles not only represent the universe but also the cycles of years. This is particularly clear from the *Māgha-maṇḍala-ālpanā* (Plates. IV, V, VI) where the drawing of five circles indicates five cycles of years. The circle also appears to refer to the movement of the earth in a circular way. In most of the folk arts drawn on festive occasions the circle, however, represents the globular earth. This implication is clear from Pl. No. XIII. Circles also represent the sun and the moon (Plates. VII, II). Rays of the sun are shown by wavy lines radiating from the circular figure of the head. Similarly, amongst the Chaldaeo-Assyrians a circle, from which eight rays proceed, symbolises the sun and the eight regions.⁸⁸ In Dakota pictographs a circle with mouth and rays also represents the sun.⁸⁹ The moon is often a simple circle without the radiation of wavy lines, but in most cases it is represented by a semi-circle (Plates. VI, VII, II, III). Among many peoples crescent is the symbol for the moon, and everywhere it is the most potent factor. In China the moon's disk is connected with the dragon and is supposed to control rain and fertilise the earth⁹⁰. It seems that the rural girls of Bengal have a clear conception of the full and half moon, the former being indicated by a circle and the latter by a crescent or a semi-circle. Circles are also most commonly used in magical charms. When they are drawn with ash and milk, the people are saved from the evil spirits and demons⁹¹. In Tibet the Buddhist *maṇḍala* or the Tantrik *maṇḍala* also bears the same implications⁹². Again, the circle or any circular shape possesses a great magical potency in keeping off the malignant spirits.⁹³ In the Punjab a circle is considered to be a sign of the *Devī*. A mark of it is made by women on a pilgrimage at every few yards, upon a stone or on some objects near the road, with a mixture of rice-flour and water. These marks are called *likhnā*⁹⁴. This practice also originated from the same primitive idea of keeping off the evil spirits. Lastly, it is to be noted that the concept of a circle, circular and encircling lines, leads naturally to dramatic ceremonialism, and the ideas of continuity, finality and extremity have often been expressed by circular symbolism.⁹⁵

Wavy-line pattern is also a common motif in pre-historic paintings. In the Indus Valley we very often find this motif on the painted pottery.⁹⁶ Wavy lines represent rivers and hence water. That is why it is the common "convention in Assyrian river scene reliefs". Cross motif also is not unknown in the Indus Valley.⁹⁷ Different kinds of crosses have been explained differently. Cross and multilines drawn cross-wise indicate stars. Evans regards the criss as the simplest form of star-sign and a general indication of

divinity. According to him it was also the symbol of the great Minoan goddess.⁹⁸ The Chaldaeo-Assyrians adopted the equilateral cross as the symbol of the sky and its god Anu.⁹⁹ According to the Chinese concept the equilateral cross inserted within a square, symbolises the earth. In China they have a saying that "God fashioned the earth in the form of a cross".¹⁰⁰ In primitive America the cross is often the symbol of protection and a prayer to the greater spirit.¹⁰¹ Cross is regarded as the tree of life and death.^{101a} A dot in our *ālpanās* is implied to mean a star. Several planets are also represented by many such geometrical signs. Thus the square represents *Śukra* or the Venus, triangle, *Maṅgala* or Mars, etc.¹⁰² The triangle is most commonly used in magical charms.^{102a}

Thus most of the geometrical figures either represent natural objects or heavenly bodies. But, above all, they have magical significance. A. N. Tagore thinks that these geometrical signs, implying different natural phenomena, are real representations. This, however, is doubtful. Rather they seem to be conventionalised motifs of artists' imagination. The observer of the *vrata-rites* has the main purpose of achieving her desired object. Accordingly, the sun is drawn by a conventionalised circle with a view to derive its beneficial influence for the prosperity of the creatures on earth which is also represented by another circle. Again, all these elementary geometrical figures contain magical import. Here a particular reference may be made to the geometrical designs like simple lines, wavy lines, squares, circles, etc., of the Rajasthani and Bengali *ālpanās*, depicting the village, town, cultivated land,* irrigating channel, plough, paddy, paddy-plant, etc.¹⁰³ These are undoubtedly magical representations for the protection of all these against evil spirits or evil eyes and also for making the land fertile and yielding of abundant crops. Gradually, however, all these motifs became complicated and passed through many stages of transformation connected with the traditions and religious beliefs of the people who used them.

Botanic representation is the keynote of the folk ritual art of Bengal. Plants, leaves, flowers, creepers, etc., all are drawn in the *ālpanās*. All these motifs are also most commonly present in the Indus Valley. Vertical lines represent the trunk or the branches of the tree and the horizontal lines, either boughs or elongated leaves.¹⁰⁴ Again, at Mohenjodaro, the *pipal*-leaf pattern is very prominent. Representation of aquatic plants also is not absent. But we do not find, however, creeper designs on the Indus pottery so commonly and prominently as we have them in our *ālpanās*.

The creeper-pattern of the Bengali *ālpanā* is undoubtedly its speciality. So also is the representation of the lotus. These creeper, plant and flower designs also abound in our early and medieval sculptures, paintings, etc.¹⁰⁵ It has been argued by A. N. Tagore that the drawing of lotus, leaves, creepers, etc., created from the artist's imagination is not so much related with the desires of the girls who draw them. He opines that these could have been easily avoided by the girls. What they want is to make the painting more beautiful to human taste. This observation of Tagore does not seem to be in conformity with the underlying motive behind such designs. Taste and beauty do not come under any consideration with regard to the fulfilment of desires. The girls do not draw these floral designs merely for beautification or for satisfying their aesthetic sensibility but rather for their magical potency.

Like the geometrical figures the floral representations also contain magical properties. They are, again, mostly symbolical and conventional. Creepers drawn in these *ālpanās* are mostly local, to be found in water and jungle. It is, no doubt, a very difficult task to find out the proper implications of the different creeper patterns. Even then it can hardly be asserted that they are so many meaningless art-forms created for decoration or for beauty's sake. Let us take for instance the most common creeper-pattern, namely *saṅkha-latā*, for which we have no parallel in nature or in any other country. Conch has been considered sacred from very early times because of its magical property. In tribal and folk life conch and the different varieties of shell play a vital role. In the first place we may make here a particular reference to the common use of *cowrie*. It is a magical charm against evil eyes, or a symbol of sex, implying fertility or a revitalising force or a life-giver. It is because of this concept that we have the common use of the *cowrie* amongst the primitives.¹⁰⁶ It is in the same context that the *cowries* are most widely used in marriage ceremonies and rituals. Similarly, the conch has also a magical import. The conch is struck on the head of a corpse. It is also used at the time of ploughing.^{106a} Its magical import is clear from its other diverse uses. Conch is a life-giver and a charm against evil eyes. It is also a sign of happiness and prosperity. Even today it is essential for a Hindu married woman to wear conch bangle which is, in fact, an indication of her married life. Therefore, the conch bangle is worn for the long life and prosperity of the husband. Wearing of this bangle is to be given up only after the death of the husband. The sound of the conch has the import of driving away evil spirits and hence considered auspicious. Thus the

magical import of the conch becomes clear from its uses. Again, it is because of its magical import that the girls make representations of conches in a circular creeper design. Similar conch-circular designs are also to be found in Egypt and Greece. This pattern might have migrated there from Bengal or it might have been the result of a simultaneous evolution.¹⁰⁷ We may also refer to another such creeper motif in our *ālpanās* called *chāltā-latā* (*dellenia speciosa-chāltā*). *Chāltā* is a very common acid fruit of Bengal. *Chāltā* itself contains magical property relating to fertility. The primary object of the girls is to draw this *chāltā* and its flower for fertilisation, and the artistic representation of which takes the pattern of a creeper. So also is the *khai-latā* (*khai* = fried paddy). *Khai* stands for scaring away evil spirits and evil eyes. There are similar other creeper patterns with plantain, bunches of plantain, etc. All these fruits and paddy, after which the creeper pattern has been conceived, thus bear magical import. Similarly, *pān*, *ātā*, *palm*, etc., are drawn because of their magical and medicinal properties.

But the most important floral motif in the *ālpanās* is the different varieties of lotus. Lotus has become a symbolised and conventional form from very early times. This lotus flower design of the *ālpanā*-painting appears to be a continuation of the Mohenjodaro lotus motif.¹⁰⁸ Lotus is the most common and a very favourite flower with the primitive and the rural folk. It is also a common floral motif in Indian art, myths and legends. Reasons for constant association of the lotus with the deities in Indian art are not very far to seek. Lotus is considered as an emblem of creation and divine birth. The flower opens with the rise of the sun and closes with its setting. These natural changes caused the early man to regard the lotus as the residence of the sun in "its nocturnal passage through the underworld". Hence the lotus is identified with the sun. It is also symbolic of procreative power. The lotus is again not only the emblem of creation but also the "revivifier, resurrector, regenerator of the fresh and the refreshed sun of the next day".¹⁰⁹ The multirayed petals of the lotus also refer to this association. The holding of the lotus in hand refers to the possession of life everlasting and the preservation and procreation of life as well. Lotus also stands for fertility. It is associated with Lakshmī and consequently with wealth, plenty and prosperity. Lakshmī is, in fact, a tutelary deity of the agricultural people of Bengal, and hence her name is *Kārīshinī*. This concept explains the representation of the goddess of wealth and life by the lotus. Accordingly, it will not be unreasonable to suggest that the magical import of the lotus lies in the supply of wealth and life. Similarly,

the drawings of domestic houses, agricultural fields, canals, rivers, paddy, paddy-plants, domestic articles, etc., are in essence nothing but magical representations meant for keeping off the evil spirits from the house or the village, for increasing the fertility of the agricultural field and for the obtainment of the necessities of life.

Animals and birds are also most commonly drawn in our *ālpanās*, generally in bare outlines. The drawing of bird-motif bears similarity with the bird-motif of Mohenjodaro.¹¹⁰ Most important bird-motifs in the *ālpanās* are the peacock and *maynā*. The peacock is not only a beautiful bird but also a symbol of might and strength. It is also the name of a common totem amongst many tribes. Some tribes also consider the peacock as a demon-scarer and a fertility symbol. Thus the *Sāorās* very often carve a peacock on their doors.¹¹¹ The association of the peacock with the cult of the dead is also common. It is a sacred bird amongst the Jats, and its feathers are carried in certain ceremonies and are even smoked in pipes as a charm against snake-bite.¹¹² Some of the Khonds worship this bird as a symbol of earth, and hence its association with the earth goddess.¹¹³ In Hindu mythology the peacock has been conceived as the *vāhana* (vehicle) of Kārtikeya, the divine general. The deities who are associated with this bird are Lakshmī, Sarasvati and Kārtikeya. The peacock is also called *nīlakanṭha* or the blue throated like Śiva. Again, there is a popular saying that "she who dreams of a peacock will have a handsome son".¹¹⁴ This drawing of the peacock in our *vata-ālpanās*, however, reminds us of its association with the sun and the sky and consequently with rain. Its association with the sun may be due to its crowing at sunrise. Like the cock, it is also considered to be a sun-worshipper. To the aboriginal sun-worshippers it is indeed a bird of great veneration. It is also a great enemy of the snake, and its flesh is considered to be an antidote for snake-bite. It has been contended that the original land of the peacock-motif in art was India. The motif is said to have migrated from India to Persia, thence to Egypt, Greece and other parts of Europe, and to China and Japan in eastern destination.¹¹⁵ Here it will be very interesting to refer to the famous *Jātaka*-story according to which the Indians astonished the Babylonians by the exhibition of a peacock. Another bird, the *maynā*, is conceived as the wishfulfilling bird and hence its representation. Of the animals drawn, particular reference may be made to the cow which is the most sacred animal to all agricultural and cattle rearing peoples. In Hindu mythology the cow is conceived as the great mother and the resort of all the deities.¹¹⁶

Besides, the most important and attractive representation is

that of the human figure which is drawn in bare outlines containing magical import. Even amongst primitive tribes the practice of drawing such human figures representing spirits for the performance of magical rites, is common. Thus the Bhumij draws the conventional human figures on the ground representing spirits and performs magical rites on them in order to transfer the spirit to any one who happens to cross the figures drawn.¹¹⁷ In most of the Hindu ritual practices, such a human figure in bare outlines is always drawn on the *ghaṭa* or the ritualistic water-pot, with vermilion mixed in oil.

Again, in the *ālpanās* of some other *vratas* like the *Señjuti* and *Bhāduṭi*, the girls draw numerous articles and things after their desires and requirements (plates. VII-XI). The master of the house is seen walking in a garden with his *kochā* hanging, and the bungalow is seen with sepoy standing as guards in front. There are also representations of temples, houses, domestic utensils, ornaments, etc., which are indeed the expressions of the desires of the girls. Here it would also be interesting to make a reference to the *Dīvālī* paintings of western India. We have the drawings of temples, sun, moon, lamp, conch, shell, lotus, wheel, *svastika*, cobra, cow's foot-print, mango, sparrows, wood-apple tree, foot-prints of Lakshmī, etc.¹¹⁸ These motifs are of the nature of the *ālpanās* drawn on the occasions of the *Señjuti*, *Bhāduṭi* and *Lakshmī-pūjāvratas*. The west Indian drawings, however, lack that primitive vitality and richness of the Bengali paintings but the underlying import is identical. They draw all these items and practise magical rites on them in order to have them or to cause them to do what they desire or want to achieve. This import is best expressed in the following incantations chanted during the observance of the *Señjuti-vrata*:

(1)

Sañja-pūjan *Señjuti*,

Sixteen votaries are in sixteen houses,

I am a votary of one of these houses.

Being a votary (I) want a boon,

Of ever growing wealth and sons in parent's house.

(2)

Oh God Hara-Saṅkara! Be kind to me,

So that I may not be married to a fool.

(3)

Coming and going in palanquin,

Looking at the face in a golden mirror.

Father's palanquin proceeds to the father-in-law's house,

In coming and going the planquin eats *ghee* and *madhu* (honey).

(4)

By pouring fried rice on the head of the *Koḍā* (a bird of the crane species).

Let me be the wife of a king.

By pouring sugar on a head of the *Koḍā*,

Let me be a queen,

By pouring ghee on the head of the *Koḍā*,

Let me be the daughter of a king.

(5)

The brinjal leaves are *dhālā-dhālā* (a shield?),

Golden son on the mother's lap.

Did give birth to such a son.

Did pass the night in a golden moment.

(6)

Sar, Sar, Sar, my brother is the groom of the village (*śar* is a kind of reed; here it seems that every body is being asked to clear the way),

Calling *var, var* (groom) and betel-nuts are growing in betel-nut plants.

My brother throws them after chewing,

Others' brothers throw them away after collecting.

(7)

Veni! Veni! Veni! (a braid of hair or a tail of hair).

My brother is the gold of the village.

Called, Oh *Sonā!* Oh *Sonā!* (gold—a personal name).

Betel-nuts grow in bunches.

My brother throws them away after chewing.

Others' brothers throw them after collecting.

(8)

Bāñsēr-jhoñrā and *rūper-jhoñrā* (bamboo-bush and exquisite beauty),

Father is the king and brother is a subject.

(9)

Bow to the *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* with folded hands.

Let me be the sister of seven brothers.

Let me be like *Sāvitrī*,

Worship *Gaṅga* and *Yamunā*,

Eating rice on a golden plate,

Creamed-milk *lāḍus* (a sweet-meat) on a golden plate,

Golden *khāḍus* before conch *khāḍus* (wrist ornaments).

(10)

Oh betel-nut plant! Oh betel-nut plant!

Cleaning with *Muṭhi* (a handful of grass or leaves),

Father has become the emperor of Delhi,
And my brother has become the king.

(11)

Worship *Chandra* and *Sūrya* (the Sun and the Moon),
Eat rice on a golden plate.
Creamed-milk-*lāḍus* on a golden plate,
Golden *khāḍu* before conch-*khāḍu*.

(12)

Worship *hāt* (market place) and *ghāṭ* (steps in a tank),
Eating on a golden plate,
Creamed-milk-*lāḍus* on a golden plate,
Golden *khāḍu* before conch *khāḍu*.

(13)

Worshipping the cattle-shed,
Eating on a golden plate,
Creamed-milk-*lāḍus* on a golden plate,
Golden *khāḍu* before conch *khāḍu*.

(14)

Dwelling under the *aśvatthva*-tree,
Wear *āltā* (lac-dye for decoration) (with blood) by cutting the
co-wife.
Seven *kauṭās* (a small box) of seven co-wives,
Among them I have one of *avabhar* (a small pot containing
vermilion),
Handling the *avabhar-kauṭā* (vermilion container).
Kill the seven co-wives by burning.

(15)

Baṇṭī! *Baṇṭī!* *Baṇṭī!* (cutter for cutting vegetables and fishes)
Cutting vegetables for the *sāddha* (obsequial rite) of the *satin*
(co-wife).

(16)

Khyāṅgrā! *Khyāṅgrā!* *Khyāṅgrā!* (broom-stick).
I shall make the co-wife devoid of direction by beating.

(17)

Oh Hara! I pray to thee for a boon.
Let my husband be a king.
And let my co-wife be a maid,
And once in a year let me come to my father's house.

(18)

Oh *Ātā-pātākuldevatā!* (family or clan deity and *ātā*-custard apple
plants' leaf)
(Let me have) vermilion on the forehead and *āltā* on the feet.

(19)

Temple with the *vānglās* (bungalow),
 Elephants at the door and the horses outside.
 Servants and maids, cows and buffaloes,
 Wander here and near.
 (With) youth and beauty (I am) always happy.
 (And) my husband loves me.

(20)

Āmsatva (inspissated mango-juice) and ripe betel-leaves,
 My husband is Nārāyaṇa.
 When he will go to war,
 Let him return home safely.

(21)

Trikon (three cornered) and four cornered lamp and light,
Amukdevī (such and such lady) observes the rite, being the light
 of the world.

(22)

Son on my lap and son in my arms,
 Let them not fall on the ground.

(23)

Working on *dheñki* (a large and long block of wood used as a
 pedal for clearing grains from husk).
 Pregnant cows and burning woven.
 With black paddy and with bright sons,
 Let my days be passed with my husband.

(24)

Khāt-pālōṅ, *lep-tōshak* (beadstead, a mattress and quilt) are here
 and there,
 Beauty, youth and everlasting happiness,
 Husband loves me always.
 The neighbours! The neighbours!
 Shower honey from the mouth.
 Born with husband and child.
 Let my husband be always by my side.

(25)

Oh *Dhātākātā* (creator)! Oh *Vidhātā*! (God, the creator)
 Do thou grant me a boon.
 Let my husband be the overlord of the realm.

(26)

Mango-wood *piḍis* (wooden seat) and jack-fruit wood glitter in oil,
 My brother alone can sit on it.

(27)

Do worship with ghee and *chandana* (sandal wood paste) according
 to my desires,

So that I may wear *vānāraśi-sāri* (fine clothes from Benares) and pass the night.

(28)

I do draw *piṭhuli*-bangle (rice-paste diluted with water),
 Let me have golden bangle.
 I do draw *piṭhuli-nath* (nose-ring),
 Let me have golden *nath*.
 I do draw *piṭhuli-māṅḍi* (ear-ring),
 Let me have golden *māṅḍi*.
 I do draw *piṭhuli-hār* (necklace),
 Let me have golden *hār*.
 I do draw *piṭhuli-mukut* (a crown—made of *volā* or pithy-plant worn by the groom and the bride),
 Let me have golden *mukut*.
 (In this way all the ornaments drawn are to be mentioned)

(29)

Worshipping the kitchen,
 Eating from the golden dish,
 Creamed-milk *lāḍus* on golden dish,
 Golden *khāḍu* before conch-*khāḍu*.

(30)

Oh crab! maker of *kaḍ-kaḍ* sound,
 You all lie down in market and *ghāṭ* (steps in the pond),
 I do lie down on a bedstead.

(31)

Oh *ārśi*! Oh *ārśi*! (mirror).
 Let my husband read *phārśi* (persian language).

(32)

Oh *Udvedāli*! Do thou eat; *Udvedāli* (beaver)!
 Do devour *satin* (co-wife) sparing my husband.

(33)

Oh *Veḍi*! Oh *Veḍi*! (a pair of tongs),
 Make the woman (co-wife) a squaint.

(34)

Hātā! *Hātā*! *Hātā*! (a big spoon),
 Do thou devour (my) co-wife's *māthā* (head).

(35)

Oh *Pākhi*! Oh *Pākhi*! Oh *Pākhi*! (bird),
 Going to the roof that I may see,
 The woman (my co-wife) no more to be.

(36)

Oh *kul* tree! Oh *kul* tree! (jujube tree),
 Thou art full of thorns,
 The woman (my co-wife) is leprosy-torn.

(37)

Oh *kājal-latā*! Oh *kājal-latā*! (a spoon-like metal-vessel for preparing stibium for the eyes),

Thou art *vāsar-ghaṇ* (bridal chamber),

Do thou open leaves,

So that I may go to my father-in-laws' house

(38)

As many stars as many brothers,

Worshipping them let me go home.

(39)

Do worship vermilion-box,

Eat rice on a golden dish.

Creamed-milk *lāḍus* on a golden plate,

Golden *khāḍu* before conch-*khāḍu*.

(40)

Do worship betel-leaf plate.

Do eat from a golden dish.

Creamed-milk *lāḍus* on a golden dish.

Golden *khāḍu* before conch-*khāḍu*.

(41)

Oh conch! and *Segun* (plants) and rivers,

Father is the king and the brother, the *vādsāh* (sovereign or emperor).

(42)

Oh *maynā*! Oh *maynā*! (*Gracula religiosa*—a talking bird) (I pray to thee),

Let there be no co-wife.

(43)

After death I shall be born again in the race of mankind.

(And) Shall get a husband like Rāma.

After this death I shall be born again in the race of mankind.

Shall be a chaste wife like Sītā.

After this death I shall be born again in the race of mankind.

Shall get a father-in-law like Daśaratha.

After this death I shall be born again in the race of mankind.

Shall be a mother of sons, like Kuntī.

After this death I shall be born again in the race of mankind.

Shall be a cook like Draupadī.

After this death I shall be born again in the race of mankind.

Shall have patience like Pṛithivī.

After this death I shall be born again in the race of mankind.

Shall be cool like *Gaṅgā* (river Ganges).

After this death I shall be born again in the race of mankind,

Shall be like Shashthī, a mother of undying sons (a deity, giver and protectress of issues).

(44)

Oh So-pākhi! Oh So-pākhi! (a species of bird).
Let me be happy all through my life.

(45)

Oh Indra! I worship thee with devotion,
Being the sister of seven brothers.
Oh *Nilapati!* Oh *Nilapati!* (name of Śiva)
(I am) the pregnant sister of seven brothers,
With black paddy and black sons,
Let my days be passed ever with (my) husband.

(46)

Teraj (lord) in my three families,
One of my parents,
One of my father-in-law's and mother-in-law's.
(And) the other one of my husband.

(47)

Hip like the *kātā-dumūr* (severed-fig),
So that I may be the beloved of my husband.

(48)

I do draw *piṭhuli* granary,
So that I may have golden granary.

(49)

Babui's nests on the palm tree (the weaver bird),
It is very pleasant to have a sight of the killed *satīn* (co-wife)

(50) •

Oh *ṭhāṭkuḍī!* Oh *ṭhāṭkuḍī!* (an abusive term meaning a coquette woman).

The co-wife is *āṭkuḍī* (barren).

(51)

Thāu! Thāu! Thāu! (a lump or thickness; meaning not clear)
offering honey,

Let me be the wife of the king.

Thāu! Thāu! Thāu! offering honey,

Let me be the maid of the king.

Thāu! Thāu! Thāu! offering honey.

Let me be the wife of the king.

(Then taking *dūrvā*-grass in hand, the girls chant)

Do welcome *Arunṭhākur* (sun deity),

Flowers have blossomed on his legs,

When we receive the order,

Would depart to home after plucking flowers.

(52)

Kuñch! Kuñchatī! Kuñchai-bon? (a personal name)

Oh *Kuñchai!* Why are you so late?

Gold bullions came in bags.

In am late because of being busy in receiving them.

Paddy arrived in bags,

I am so late because of measuring them.

Rice arrived in bags,

I am so late because of receiving them.

Oh lamp of the dusk! I bow to thee,

So that I may be devoted to religion.

In these *Vrata-chhadās* we find an invariable association between the *chhadās* and the drawings or representations. Earnest and cherished desires of the girls find expressions in these drawings. Thus she draws a comb with *piṭhuli* and practises rites over it in order to have a golden comb and so on.

CHARACTER OF *Ālpanā*-DESIGNS

The *ālpanās* are as simple as the drawings of the primitive tribes. They are made only by drawing lines and not by juxtaposition of colours or by contrast of light and shade. Drawing of simple lines gives the representations of their desired objects or phenomena. This art is practically within the traditional bounds and represents stereotyped techniques. The principal feature of this *ālpanā*-drawing is repetition; lines, triangles, etc., are often parallel in series and repeated over and over again. Sometimes one shape or design is fitted into another. This repetition is indeed of magical significance. From an artistic point of view this seems to be monotonous. But despite such monotony the inherent vitality of the motifs is such that it invariably asserts through its conventional fetters. This has again given a stable character to the *ālpanā*-drawing. Here the remarks of Charles Holmes regarding the stable character of the oriental carpet are equally applicable to the *ālpanā*-painting.¹¹⁹ This stable character of the *ālpanā*-painting also imparts to the observers of the *vrata-rites* the feeling of stability and confidence even in the performance of the rituals. This characteristic feature is again mainly responsible for repetition and monotony in motifs and designs. This lends vitality to the character of the motifs. It is not, however, true in all cases of motifs and designs. While drawing a leaf or a plant or a personal ornament the girls do not always fail to give a realistic touch to their representations, though generally in a very much conventionalised and traditional

manner. It is also to be noted that behind all these artistic features of the *ālpanā*-painting lies the fundamental concept which leads to such drawings. Magical drawings in all countries are traditional, conventional and symbolical. The main object of the girls for drawing these *ālpanā*-motifs is not to please the eyes but to observe certain rites on them for the realisation of their desires. It is because of these reasons that the *ālpanā*-art seems to be purely abstract, being dependent on repetition, monotony, tradition and symbolism, and consists of forms and designs which apparently appear to be meaningless. But all these are due to their magical significance.

Ālpanās AS ALTARS FOR MAGICO-RELIGIOUS PERFORMANCES

It has been already observed that the *ālpanā*-drawing serves the purpose of an altar for the observance of the magico-religious rites like the Tantrik diagrams and the primitive ritual drawings. We have also seen how the paraphernalia of the rite is arranged on the drawings or paintings and how the observance of the rite is completed. Generally a *ghaṭa*, with a mango-twigg in it, is placed in the central portion of the painting, and flowers, *dūrvā*-grass, etc., are offered to it which represents the deity concerned. Sometimes, as in *Señjūtī-vrata*, flower is to be offered to each of the figures drawn along with the chanting of the *chhaḍās*. Often other offerings are also arranged on the painting. In Tantrik practices as well, we have similar drawings on which rites are practised. Among primitive tribes this kind of drawing or painting is commonly used as the altar for the performance of magico-religious rites. Thus the Hopi altar is composed of sand, "the square interior white, with bordering stripe of yellow, green, red and white, symbolising the four cardinal points. At the top of the central square are four symbolic figures of each of the four rain clouds".¹²⁰ Among the Australian aboriginals the rock paintings form the altar for the performance of magical rituals. Even the painting itself bears magical potency. Thus a group of round designs represents a green plum-like fruit called *malge*. The regular supply of this fruit is maintained by painting or repainting the representation of it.^{120a} The Orāons of Chotanagpur use diagrammatic representations as altars. Thus during the *Kumārī-baiṭhānā* ceremony such a drawing is called *pimri*.¹²¹ As to the observance of the rituals on it, we are told that "in the innermost compartment of the drawing three handfuls of rice are placed a little apart from one another; over each handful of rice are placed one *tulsi*-leaf and a bit of *rāsni*; these are now covered

with a circular plate made of *sāl*-leaves; outside, but close to the diagram, towards its south-eastern, are placed a *tile* (khapra) with fire on it, a bit of copper and a lighted earthen lamp. A *gulaichi*-flower and a *bel*-leaf are placed on each petal like compartments of the innermost and outermost lines of the diagram. Now the woman circumbulates the diagram three times, coming from the lamp and finally returning to it. She bows down before the diagram and sits on the *sāl*-leaf placed over the handful of rice on the innermost compartment of the diagram, with palms of her hands joined together, three *gulaichi*-flowers strung on a reed and some *arūrā*-rice on the pot inside her folded palms. A quantity of frankincense is, from time to time, sprinkled on the fire before the lamp in front of the diagram, his desiciple sitting by her side".¹²² The Khāriās and the Birhors also use these drawings for the performance of their rituals. Sometimes the rite is observed by placing a lamp on the diagram. During the ceremonial worship of the totems amongst the Birhors "four compartments are drawn on the ground, and in one of the compartments the sacrificer sits down with his face turned in the direction of the ancestral hills, and some parts or symbols of his totemic animal, plant or object, are placed in another compartment of the diagram as an emblem of the totem as also of the clan and perhaps of the clan god".¹²³ Even during the marriage ceremonies of the Birhors such diagrammatic representations serve as altars for the observance of the ceremonial rites. Four rupee-coins are placed and at each of the four corners of the figure, a pice. The girl is seated to the east of the figure drawn with her face turned towards the west, and the father sits on the west with his face turned towards the east. The Sāorā *ittals* are also used as altars, and offerings are made to all the drawings. The spirit is also believed to take seat on the *ittal*.¹²⁴ These *ittals* again depict agricultural operations, and rituals are performed on them for the promotion of agricultural fertility. Even the Gond and the Pradhān wall-paintings which depict mythical stories, serve the purpose of altars to which both boys and girls make offerings and pray for the fulfilment of their desires.¹²⁵ Like primitive girls, the *kumārī*-girls of Bengal also arrange the paraphernalia of their *vrata*-rites on the *ālpanās*. The observer of the rite takes her seat on the *āsana* (seat) drawn in front of the main drawing or the *kol*, facing either eastwards or northwards, with folded hands chanting *chhaḍās* and pouring flowers, *dūrvā*-grass, etc. After the chanting of the *chhaḍās* and listening to the *kathā* (legend for proving the efficacy of the rite observed) the girl bows down before it and retires.

In fact, this *ālpanā*-painting is actually called a *koṭ* or an altar for the ritual and ceremonial performances.

MAGICAL CHARACTER OF THE *Ālpanās*

Thus *ālpanā*-paintings and primitive drawings are indeed the altars for the performance of the magico-religious rites and practices. The magical import of the *ālpanā*-painting is, therefore, clear. We have already seen that the pigments used in these drawings possess magical properties, and that they are used with an end in view, either to drive away the evil spirits or to represent the deities or the natural phenomena concerned. Similarly, the forms, motifs and designs etc., also contain magical import. They are drawn with the sole object of either influencing them or causing them to do something beneficial to the observer of the rite. The presentation of an object is as effectual as the object itself, and as there is virtue in words and power in names, so there is efficacy in pictographs. Thus the drawing of a circle on the ground is full of magical significance. Even today in Bengal a line representing a snake is drawn round a house for preventing the snake from entering into it. There are again numerous references in the popular tales regarding the drawing of such lines for the performance of magical rites in order to keep off the witches and the evil spirits.¹²⁶ This becomes clear from the citation of similar practices prevalent amongst the Abyssinians and the Africans who draw eyes for averting evil eyes, and heads and faces for protection against evils, etc.¹²⁷ In the *ālpanās* as well, such drawings are common, and it is not at all unlikely that similar motivations make the girls draw such motifs and designs. The concept of the natural phenomena like sun, moon and stars as represented in the *ālpanās* is also worthy of notice. These are all considered as the sources of subsistence on earth, and accordingly, these phenomena are the most potent and powerful deities. They are drawn, and rites are practised over them for plenty of agricultural supply, water, etc. Magical import of the *ālpanā*-painting is, however, best represented in the *Señjuti-vrata-ālpanās* where we have the depiction of houses, sun, moon, kitchen, betel-nuts, cow-shed, etc. They are indeed the drawings of the things or articles which the girls desire. Thus by drawing ornaments with *piṭhuli* she hopes to possess golden ornaments.¹²⁸ These motifs would have been meaningless without any spell by which the represented elements in the *ālpanās* are expected to fulfil the desires expressed. "Prayer is the soul's sincere desire", and in the *ālpanās* we have the drawing or paint-

ing of the prayers of the girls. This is the essence of the magical concept of the *ālpanā*-painting. Thus the young girls of Bengal are very much practical in their *ālpanā*-drawings. They hope to achieve their hearts' desires by making representations in the *ālpanā*-drawings and by observing rites on them following the principle of sympathetic magic.

CONCLUSIONS

It now follows that the art, as reflected in the *ālpanās*, is the most primitive in form and character. In a sense it is a traditional art with conventionalised forms and motifs. It is an art of the people which is not dictated by fashion and is primarily based on nature study. It is imitative and not intellectual. It deals more with action than with thought. It concentrates more on things than on ideas. Naturally, therefore, this art is the best approach for understanding the peoples' thoughts and actions. Every object of the world required for material existence is its main concern. What the girl sees all around, what attracts her most, what she thinks of utmost utility for herself and for the people at large, find expression in the *vrata-ālpanās*. Its forms, patterns and designs are not, therefore, so meaningless as one would like to think. In fact, they contain meanings of far greater import. Indeed, the common rural folk and the primitive man can not think of any art that has no material application to life. Coomaraswamy rightly observes that to try to explain the nature of the primitive or folk art or to speak accurately of any traditional art by an assumption of a decorative instinct of aesthetic purpose, is a pathetic fallacy, a deceptive projection of our own mentality upon the ground.¹²⁹ Compared with the sophisticated art, this *ālpanā* art appears to be naive and primitive. In reality it has preserved many primitive traits in spite of the infiltration of many alien elements. The *ālpanā* art actually developed by displaying the primitive characteristics. In that sense it is a "derivative primitive art". Thus Kroeber says with regard to the primitive arts that 'they tend to geometric and floral design or to a naive somewhat inept realism. They please but hardly stir'. In the *ālpanās*, as in the tribal arts, 'things are set out in a style, which, however crude it may seem to the sophisticated eye, is to them a triumph of technical achievement, a support . . . to moral, a cause of pride and self-respect'.¹³⁰ This particular study of the *ālpanā* art of Bengal gives us a clear understanding as to how intimately folk art is connected with religion and magic. Here also we find a commixture of cult and myth with art. In fact, common

people do not know any secular art. On the other hand, his art is inspired by magico-religious experience. In fact, it is the drawing or the painting of the hopes and fears, dreams, and faiths of the common people. It is rather a dramatic representation of the cherished desires of the girl, which are to be fulfilled. Indeed, she paints what she wants to be, or in other words, her prayer or soul's sincere desire is being painted in the *ālpanās*.

ORIGIN OF *Ālpanā*-PAINTING

The folk ritual drawing or painting of Bengal is not an isolated phenomenon. It is rather the part of a culture which is intimately linked up with the life of the people. This analysis of the folk ritual painting no doubt opens a new vista for the study of the rural culture of Bengal, and as a matter of fact, that of India. An attempt therefore is being made here to work out a hypothesis as to its origin.

A common linguistic base for by far the major regions of the whole of South and South-East Asia has been established long ago by Schmidt and others. In India this base is represented by the Muṇḍā or the Kol language. Accordingly, Schmidt established the Austric family of languages with its two main groups, namely the Austro-Asiatic and the Austronesian. The Muṇḍā along with such languages as the Khāsi, Mon khmer, Nicobares, etc., has been placed under the Austro-Asiatic group, and the Austronesian includes within it such well determined languages as the Melanesian, Polynesian and Micronesian. Others have even gone to the extent of including the Oceanic group of languages within it.¹³¹ The basis of this linguistic affinity is to be found in the structure of the words, phonetic system, features of grammar, vocabulary, etc. Przyluski and Rivet have again raised the problem of the existence of a sort of relationship between the Austric and the Iranian and the Sumerian. But such a relationship is yet to be established on a still firmer ground.¹³²

The Muṇḍā language in India includes within it a number of sub-groups such as Kherwāri, Juāng, Kūrkū, Khāriā, Savara, Gadaba, etc., distributed over Chotanagpur and the neighbouring areas. In pre-historic times the Muṇḍā certainly had a still wider distribution over the eastern half of central India, southern border of the Himalayas, N.W. parts, Nepal and eastern parts and plausibly also over the whole of the peninsular India. Sten Konow discovered that some Tibeto-Burman languages present characters similar to those of the Muṇḍā. In the N.W. the Muṇḍā is said to be represented by the Kānawāri in the valley of the Sutlej, and

Barushaski, though of unknown origin, has been also connected with the Austric speech. In the N.E. the Muṇḍā is represented in such languages as Kanāsī, Ranglōī, Bunān, etc.¹³³ So far as southern India is concerned it is generally asserted that the Muṇḍā was once widely distributed, though at present we have no definite data to determine its extent. What is wanted today is a linguistic survey of the languages spoken by the aboriginal tribes of southern India, who now speak one or the other of the Dravidian tongues. If such a linguistic survey is made, it will not be difficult to find out the substratum of an older language. If the Muṇḍā was once widely spread over southern India, it had certainly left its traces in the languages now spoken. If it did not, we would at least know what was the language of a still earlier people. On the whole it is to be maintained that the domain of the Muṇḍā or the Austric language was much more extensive than at present. It is only in the later periods that this domain has been considerably reduced by the infiltration of the Dravidian, the Indo-Aryan and the Tibeto-Burman languages.

Racial affinity existing amongst all these peoples speaking the Austric language is not an improbability. Long ago Schmidt pointed out the existence of such a racial likeness. Later on, however, attempts were made to prove the unworthiness of such a hypothesis. But recent ethnological investigations have again directed our attention towards the original theory. It has now been found out that the Veddas of Ceylon bear a close affinity with the most primitive aboriginals of southern India such as the Kanikars, Irulas, Kadars, Chenchus, etc.¹³⁴ These tribes again have racial affinity with the aboriginal tribes of central India and Chotanagpur. Further, all these tribes have some points of racial likeness with the Australian aboriginals, and it has been contended that there exists a graduated series of racial characters, particularly stature, between the south Indian tribes, the Veddas of Ceylon and the Australian aborigines. This scale is said to have started from southern India, and accordingly, it has been contended that all these tribes belong to the racial type known as the Proto-Australoid. But further ethnological investigations have clarified this disputed point of the ethnic origin of these peoples. Even scientific objections have been raised against the very use of the term Proto-Australoid as a racial type.¹³⁵ A comparative study of the physical characters of all these tribes shows that the aborigines of southern India have more points of racial likeness with the Veddas of Ceylon than with the Australian primitive tribes.¹³⁶ Therefore, this ethnic type has been called Veddid. But we can not at the same time completely ignore the existence of

racial likeness with the Australian aborigines as well. Hence we would be rather justified in calling this ethnic type Veddidi-Australoid. Not only that, some have even tried to establish the existence of certain forms of racial likeness of the Indian tribes with the Melanesians, Indonesians, etc., or in other words, with the people of the regions where the Austric language is spoken. It is, however, to be admitted that all these people have passed through considerable modifications due to diverse racial admixtures. The original racial characters are but mostly lost. In spite of this, one may be permitted to associate the Austric speech with the Veddidi-Australoid people characterised by dolichocephalic head and platyrrhine nose.

The centre of the dispersal of the Austric-speakers is still a riddle with the ethnologists and the philologists. Different views have been expressed. According to one suggestion, northern Indo-China was the centre for the formation of a definite Austric group, and it was from here that the dispersal towards the east and the west took place. Another view brings the Austrics from the west to India and thence to all other regions extending up to Polynesia.¹³⁷ The latter view has been taken to be more plausible, though a later Melanesian and Polynesian infiltration into India has been proved by ethnological study. But in all probability, however, it appears, as Prof. S. K. Chatterji has suggested, that "the original Austric speech appears to have characterised in India and then it spread into Burma and Indo-China, the Peninsula of Malaya and the islands beyond, changing in the course of its migration involving so many centuries and so many thousands of miles and contact with various other peoples".¹³⁸ This conclusion is also borne out by ethnological considerations. Dr. Hutton after considering all the existing views regarding the migration of the Proto-Australoid, comes to the conclusion that "the safest hypothesis at present, therefore, appears to be that the Proto-Australoid type in India is derived from a very early migration from the West and that its special features have been finally determined and permanently characterised in India itself."¹³⁹ Recently Sir Arthur Keith has made a pointed reference to the "possibility of India being an evolutionary field" for the different racial types. He further thinks that "80% of the blood of India is native to the soil."¹⁴⁰ A very serious consideration should be given to this expressed opinion of Sir Arthur Keith. In that case the possibility of India being a great centre for the evolution of the different ethnic types and linguistic families can not be so easily dismissed. That the Austric speech and the Veddidi-Australoid type were actually formed in India, and thence dispersed towards the east, is also

proved by the study of the existing cultural traits of all these peoples, more particularly the religious ideas and practices which show a remarkable affinity. Such an affinity can not be explained as accidental. This must have been due to a common origin or source. Here particular reference may be made to such ideas as the Polynesian *Mana* and Indian *Brahmā* or *Śakti*, Polynesian *tapu* (taboo or tabu) and the Atharva-Vedic *tābuva* and the modern *nishiddha*, the concept of *Purusha* and *Prakṛiti*, the concept of *Umā*, *Prthivī-mātā*, heavenly bodies and many myths and legends.¹⁴¹ Prof. Chatterji contends that "considering that the Indo-European world outside India does not show any trace of these and similar ideas, and that these are found in the Austric domain outside India, and further the Austric world within India survives in the present day Hindu world . . . the Indo-Europeans in India found a deep element of thought and mysticism, with which they had themselves nothing to compare, and it was inevitable that these great ideas should find an important place, a basic position, in the philosophical system built up jointly by the Austriacs, Dravidian and the Arvans".¹⁴² Accordingly, we will not be unjustified to hold the view that India appears to be a primary centre for the dispersal of the Austric speakers and so also of the Veddid-Australoid.

The Veddid-Australoid race forms the substratum of the population not only of Bengal but also of the whole of India. The existence of an earlier Negrito racial strain in the Indian population has now been found out to have little scientific basis.¹⁴³ This Veddid-Australoid or the Austric speakers have also supplied the basic ethnic element in the Bengali population. Ethnological survey has proved beyond any doubt that the lower order of the Bengali social cadre has been entirely and strictly formed by this racial type. It is at the same time to be admitted that the later infiltration of the Melanesian and Indonesian elements has also made racial and cultural contributions.¹⁴⁴ Not only has the Veddid-Australoid supplied the basic racial element, but also the very basis of Bengali and Indian culture. Philological analysis of the Bengali language and culture has revealed that the basis of the now composite people of Bengal has been mainly laid by the Austric-speakers or the Veddid-Australoid. In this connection it would be very much profitable to refer to the significant findings of Prof. S. K. Chatterji:—

The Austric tribes were "in the Neolithic stage of culture of India and perhaps in India they learnt the use of copper and iron. They brought with them a primitive system of agriculture in which a digging stick was employed to till the hill sides.

Terrace cultivation of rice in the hills and plains, the cultivation of the same grain were in all likelihood introduced by them. They brought, as the names from their language would suggest, the cultivation of the coconut (*narīkēla*), the plantain (*kadala*), the betel-vine (*tāmbula*), betel-nut (*guvāka*), probably also turmeric (*haridrā*) and ginger (*śringavēra*) and some other vegetables like brinjal (*vaṭiṅgaṇa*) and the pumpkin. They appear not to have been cattle breeders, they had no use of milk but they were, most probably, the first people to tame the elephant, and to domesticate the fowl. The habit of counting by twenties in some parts of northern India appears to be the relic of the Austro-Asiatic habit. The later Hindu practice of computing time by days of the moon seems also to be Austric in origin".¹⁴⁵ Besides, the cultural traits of the people of Bengal, before their contact with the Aryans, have been also very brilliantly summarised by Prof. S. K. Chatterji. "The ideas of *karma* and transmigration, the practice of *yōga*, the religious and the philosophical ideas centering round the conception of the divinity as Śiva, Devī and Viṣṇu, the Hindu ritual of *pūjā* as opposed to the Vedic ritual of *hōma*—all these and much more in Hindu religion and thought, would appear to be non-Aryan in origin; a great deal of Epic and Puranic myth, legend and semi-history, is pre-Aryan; much of our material culture, social and other usages, e.g. cultivation of some of our most important plants like rice and some vegetables, fruits like the tamarind and coconut, the use of betel-leaf in Hindu life and ritual, most of our popular religions, most of our folk crafts, our distinctive Hindu dress, our marriage rituals in some parts of India with the use of vermilion and turmeric and many other things would appear to be legacy from our pre-Aryan ancestors".¹⁴⁶ Most of these cultural traits mentioned by Prof. Chatterji are indeed the contributions of the Austrics or the Veddid-Australoids.

This conclusion of Prof. Chatterji finds corroboration in our study of the folk religious rites and practices and more so of the folk ritual drawings and paintings. As to the earliest folk paintings we can make here a passing reference to the rock paintings and other arts common to most of the speakers of the Austric language, who appear to have been once widely spread over India, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya Archipelago, Australia and extending up to Polynesia. In this connection the study of the Australian rock-paintings is very interesting. These paintings are mostly naturalistic and symbolical. Numerous geometric and floral designs are painted, and rituals are observed over them. Reference may also be made to the similarity of the Angāmi Nāgā plastic art with

the primitive art of Malaya Archipelago. All these art forms were originally naturalistic and later on became conventionalised. This is also true of our folk ritual art of Bengal.

The ritual *ālpanā*-art of Bengal originally belonged to the agricultural stage. Those who lived in this stage had developed peculiar beliefs in certain forms of deities and in magical practices for the ample supply of crops and for driving out the evil spirits as well. Therefore, such an art would be nothing but a reflection and application of their beliefs and practices.

It has now been found out that the very basis of agriculture and cultivation has been supplied by the Austriacs, more particularly the terrace cultivation with the digging stick. Even the terrace cultivation, an earlier form of agriculture, is mostly to be associated with the Austric people. Many Sanskrit terms denoting agricultural operations and products are also said to be of Austric origin. Particular reference may be made to the term *lāṅgula* (plough) which is of Austric derivation. So also are the terms for rice, paddy, paddy-plants, etc., and some vegetables like coconut (*nārikela*), plaintain (*kadalī*), brinjal (*vāṭiṅgana*), pumpkin (*alābu*), lime (*nimbuka*), rose apple (*jambu*), cotton (*karpāsa*), silk-cotton (*śalmālī*), oil-seed, betel, etc. We can also refer to such terms as *dāḍimba*, *kadamba*, *śimba*, *nimba*, *rambhā*, *lābu*, *tāmbula*, etc.,—all these appear to belong to the Austric family.¹⁴⁷ The *vata*-rites and the folk ritual drawings are also to be particularly associated with all these articles. The botanic representations in the *ālpanā*-paintings also relate to such an association.

But the most important point to be noted here is the use of pigments in the *ālpanā*-drawings. Rice-powder and rice-paste form the invariable items of pigments for the folk ritual painting. The Indo-Europeans appear to have no knowledge of rice. They were acquainted with *yava*. In Indo-Aryan the oldest word for rice is *vṛ̥thi* which has been taken to be of Dravidian affiliation. But in the new Indo-Aryan language the word for rice is *chāwal* or *chāul*. This word again appears to be based on the middle-Indo-Aryan form *chāmala* which means rice as well as food. Further, the term *chāmala* in the sense of food can well be connected with the *Muṇḍā* or the Kol root *jom*.¹⁴⁸ Similarly the term *taṇḍula* is also of Austric origin.¹⁴⁹ In such a case the use of rice in ritual practices appears to be an Austric contribution. It can, therefore, be suggested that the use of rice-powder and rice-paste in the folk ritual drawings was originally an Austric practice. It has been already seen that even today rice-powder and rice-paste form the only or the most important ingredient in the drawings and paintings of the *Muṇḍā* tribes of Chotanagpur and elsewhere. Some

other dry pigments also appear to be of Austric extraction. We may refer to the black colour from charcoal, for which the term *aṅgār* is also of Austric origin. So also is the origin of turmeric (*haridrā*), *sinḍur* (vermilion), the red from hearth-earth, etc. The use of *sinḍur* in socio-religious practices is undoubtedly Austric in origin. Vermilion in ritual art represents blood or soul matter. This is also an Austric idea. Methods of drawing these *ālpanās* are also common to the Austric speakers.

Even a consideration of the motifs and designs of the folk ritual paintings of Bengal leads us to the same conclusion. The floral representations in the *ālpanā*-paintings have their counterparts in farther India. In Cambodia similar motifs of leaf and creeper are common. So also are the geometrical patterns which figure prominently in the early paintings of the Veddas, Australians and other tribes speaking an allied Austric speech. Spiral motif is also common in Burma, Java and Sumatra, and the triangular motif is most universally present in Khmer art. As to the representations of the heavenly bodies like the sun, the moon and the stars, such an association with the Austrics is not in the least beyond probability. The "enumeration of the days by the phases of the moon—the *tithis*", appears to be an Austric custom still prevailing in Polynesia. The concept of the full moon and the new moon is also Austric. The words *Rākā* (full moon) and *Kuhū* (new moon) have their counterparts in Polynesia as *Rakau* and *Kuhō*.¹⁵⁰ It appears that all these words have a common source in Indian Austric speech. Again, some of the names of the constellations are also of Austric origin such as the pleiades or the *māṭṛikā* from the Polynesian *matariki*.¹⁵¹ It is to be noted here that the *Vrata*-rites have an invariable association with the *tithis* and *nakshatras*. In the folk ritual paintings of Bengal as well, we have almost the universal representations of the sun, the moon and the stars. This concept of drawing the sun, moon, and the stars is also of Austric extraction. Amongst the Muṇḍās, the sun god is *Siñ Boṅga* and the moon goddess, *Ninda Chando*, who are the male and female deities in Muṇḍā myths. This concept of the sun and the moon as the male and the female is also common amongst other Austric peoples. The representations of the sun and the moon in the *ālpanās* might have originated from the same concept i.e. fertility cult. Regarding the depiction of the fauna in the ritual paintings we may make here a particular reference to the peacock which figures most commonly and prominently. The term for peacock *mayura* and *maruka* have been formed after the Austric word *mayuka*. We can also refer to the term *mrok*, and in Muṇḍā we have *marak*. Thus the word for peacock is of Austric origin. Again,

we may refer to the fact that the peacock is primarily a native animal of south-east Asia. It is also a national emblem of Burma.^{151a} Its depiction is most widely represented in the arts of the Austric people.

A reference must also be made to the very purpose of the ritual paintings. We have already seen that they serve as altars for the performance of magico-religious rites, more closely associated with the fertility cult, animism and totemism. It is now beyond little doubt that some of the very important magico-religious concepts and rituals of our country are the contributions of the Austrics. Here reference may also be made to the practice of the avoidance of the evil eye by performing such rites as *nichāwar* or *baran*.¹⁵² Not to speak of this, even the very principle of the practice of avoidance or *tabu* (Polynesian *tapu*) have an Austric basis. Besides, we have also seen that the ritual paintings of Bengal are closely associated with many myths and legends such as the cosmic and creational myths, some of which appear to be of Austric origin. Lastly, we must mention that this type of floor or surface decoration is also not unknown to the Austrics. Indeed, the Melanesians, Micronesians and Polynesians have a great love for surface painting. Above all, this folk ritual paintings or drawings of Bengal bear close resemblance in techniques, pigments, contents and purpose with the drawings and paintings of the Austric speakers of Chotanagpur and other places. Even the present distribution of this type of ritual *ālpanā*-painting or drawing speaks of its association with the Austrics or the Veddid-Australoid zones of India, namely Bengal, Bihar, southern India, parts of central India and western India. A detailed ethnological study of the folk drawings and paintings of different parts of India and of other domains of the Austric-speakers will undoubtedly throw further light on this problem. But even from what has been found out from this limited aspect of the study of the folk ritual drawings and paintings of Bengal it may perhaps be hypothetically suggested that the very basis of the magico-religious *ālpanā*-paintings of Bengal has been laid by the Austric-speakers or the Veddid-Australoids.

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² Handiquil *Naishadhacharita*, pp. 213, 442; *Isānadeva* is placed at about 1417 A.D.

- ³ Kramrisch, *Vishṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, Part III, p. 8; Śilparatna, Vol. I., pp. 43-45.
- ⁴ Asutosh Mukherji Memorial Volume, Part I, pp. 51-53.
- ⁵ Seligman, *The Vedas*, p. 319.
- ⁶ Panchanan Tārkaratna, *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, pp. 62-64.
- ^{6a} Gosh, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, pp. 35-36.
- ^{6b} *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30. Bharata belongs to second century A.D.
- ⁷ Ridding, *Kādambarī*, p. 56; In Kālidāsa's works there are also references to decorations on the ground. See Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa*, pp. 231-32.
- ⁸ Kramrisch, *Vishṇudharmottara-purāṇa*, p. 7.
- ⁹ Handiqui, *Naishadhacharita*, Sloka XIII, Canto. XV, 19, pp. 213 and 442.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 554.
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- ¹⁶ *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, p. 247.
- ¹⁷ S. C. Ray, *Khāriās*, p. 474; *Birhors*, pp. 153, 212, 355; *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IV, p. 47; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 165.
- ^{17a} S. C. Ray, *Orāon Religion and Customs*, p. 40; *Playfair, The Garos*, p. 45.
- ¹⁸ *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IV, p. 479; Ray, *Birhors*, pp. 212, 335, 345.
- ¹⁹ Barret and Henderson, *Art of the Australian Aborigines*, p. 24.
- ²⁰ Elwin, *The Tribal Art of Middle India*, p. 473.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 188.
- ²² *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IV, p. 479; Ray, *Birhors*, pp. 212, 335, 345.
- ²³ We are told that the walls and ground must be plastered before any painting is done. Asutosh Mukherji Volume, Part I, p. 53; In the *Vishṇudharmottara-purāṇa* and the *Śilparatna* the term *Vajralepa* has been used to signify plaster. Dr. Kramrisch has translated the term as plaster but Dr. Coomaraswamy thinks that "it is a medium with which pigments are mixed when applied to a plastered surface". See *Ibid.*, p. 50.
- ²⁴ *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Arts*, Vol. VIII, 1940, p. 170.
- ²⁵ Avalon, *Tantrik Texts*, Vol. VIII, Part I, pp. 3-4.
- ²⁶ *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, p. 244.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 244-47.
- ²⁸ S. C. Ray, *Orāon Religion and Customs*, pp. 126-27, 285, 286; *Khāriās*, p. 474; *Birhors*, pp. 153, 212, 335.
- ²⁹ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 821.
- ³⁰ Seligman, *The Veddas*, p. 321.
- ³¹ S. C. Ray, *Orāon Religion and Customs*, p. 40.

- ³² Playfair, 'The Gāros, p. 45.
- ³³ Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, No. 1
- ³⁴ Elwin, The Tribal Art of Middle India, p. 173.
- ³⁵ Risley, Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 187.
- ³⁶ Boas, General Anthropology, pp. 580-81.
- ³⁷ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. II, p. 507.
- ^{37a} *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 150.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 422.
- ³⁹ Boas, General Anthropology, pp. 580-81.
- ⁴⁰ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. I, p. 827.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ^{41a} Forlang, Faiths of Man, Vol. I, p. 471.
- ⁴² Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. III, p. 504.
- ⁴³ Mackay, Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro, Vol. I, p. 190.
- ^{43a} Crooke, Religion and Folklore of Northern India, p. 295.
- ⁴⁴ Indian Antiquary, 1895, p. 156.
- ⁴⁵ S. C. Ray, Orāon Religion and Customs, pp. 126-27.
- ⁴⁶ Ray, Birhors, p. 212.
- ⁴⁷ Muir, Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I, p. 151.
- ⁴⁸ Asutosh Mukherji Volume, Part I, p. 60.
- ⁴⁹ Avalon, Tantrik Texts, Vol. III, p. 60.
- ⁵⁰ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. I, p. 831.
- ⁵¹ Runes, Encyclopaedia of Arts, pp. 81-82.
- ⁵² Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Vol VIII, p. 247.
- ⁵³ *Śilparatna* refers to three types of brushes for painting, See Ashutosh Mukherji Volume, Part I, p. 54.
- ⁵⁴ Elwin, The Tribal Art of Middle India, pp. 173, 188.
- ⁵⁵ A. N. Tagore, *Vāṅglār Vrata*, p. 21.
- ⁵⁶ Mitra, Census, West Bengal, 1951, Tribes and Castes of West Bengal, p. 305.
- ⁵⁷ Gupte, Hindu Holidays, plate 5; Indian Antiquary, 1903, p. 238.
- ⁵⁸ Avalon, Tantrik Texts, Vol. VIII, Part I, p. 3; Tantrik drawing is called *Yantra* because it gives knowledge of the place where *vijas* are to be put. See Avalon Tantrik Texts, Vol. VI, Chapt. XXXIV, p. 8.
- ⁵⁹ S. C. Ray, Orāon Religion and Customs, pp. 285-86; Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. IX, pp. 119-120.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- ⁶² S. C. Ray, Khāriās, p. 474.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ S. C. Ray, Birhors, p. 153.
- ⁶⁵ S. C. Ray, Khāriās; *Ibid.*, p. 212.
- ⁶⁶ Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. IV, p. 479; S. C. Ray, Birhors, p. 335.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 103-4; Vol. II, p. 259.
- ⁶⁸ Man in India, Vol. IX, 1929, p. 112.
- ⁶⁹ Elwin, The Tribal Art of Middle India, Figs. 212, 218, 219, 220-27.
- ⁷⁰ A. N. Tagore, *Vāṅglār Vrata*, Figs. 64-66, 98.
- ⁷¹ Barret and Henderson, Art of the Australian Aborigines, p. 25.

- ⁷² *Man in India*, Vol. 32, pp. 105-114.
- ⁷³ Coomaraswamy, *Figures of Speech*, p. 222; Schmidt, *Dawn of Human Mind*, p. 7.
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 227.
- ⁷⁵ *Man*, 1933, Oct. p. 162.
- ⁷⁶ *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, p. 3.
- ⁷⁷ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 827.
- ^{77a} Gierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, p. 390.
- ⁷⁸ Augustus, *Sacred Mysteries Among the Mayas and the Quiches*, p. 62.
- ⁷⁹ Elwin, *The Tribal Art of Middle India*, p. 189.
- ⁸⁰ Starr, *Indus Valley Pottery*, pp. 58-59.
- ⁸¹ *Punjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. II, p. 29.
- ^{81a} Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 301.
- ⁸² Augustus, *Sacred Mysteries Among the Mayas and the Quiches*, p. 63.
- ⁸³ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. III, p. 445.
- ⁸⁴ Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I, p. 221, Pl. Liv., Pl. Lxx., 30.
- ⁸⁵ Starr, *Indus Valley Pottery*, p. 61.
- ⁸⁶ Mukherji, *Folk Art of Bengal*, pl. I.
- ⁸⁷ *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, Vol. VIII, 1940, p. 169.
- ⁸⁸ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, p. 324, Fig. 28.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 324-25.
- ⁹⁰ *Man in India*, Vol. XXI, p. 18.
- ⁹¹ *Punjab Notes and Queries*, Vol. VI, p. 148.
- ⁹² Waddel, *History of Tibet*, p. 397.
- ⁹³ *Man in India*, Vol. III, p. 258; Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 210.
- ⁹⁴ Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W.*, p. 330.
- ⁹⁵ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII, p. 321.
- ⁹⁶ Starr, *Indus Valley Pottery*, pp. 34-38.
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.
- ⁹⁸ Evans, *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I, pp. 514-17; Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I, p. 666.
- ⁹⁹ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. IV, p. 324, Fig. 22.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Indian Antiquary*, 1880, p. 67.
- ¹⁰¹ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 827.
- ^{101a} Erich Neumann, *The Great Mother*, p. 256.
- ¹⁰² *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XII, p. 143.
- ^{102a} Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, pp. 278, 301, 345.
- ¹⁰³ *Census of West Bengal, 1951, Tribes and Castes of West Bengal*, p. 305.
- ¹⁰⁴ Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I, p. 220, Pls. LXVIII, LXX, LXIX, 22.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ganguly, *History of Orissa and her Remains*, p. 192;

Smith, *Fine Arts of India and Ceylon*; Coomaraswamy, *India and Indonesian Art*; Havell, *The Ideals of Indian Art*, etc.

¹⁰⁶ Elwin, *the Tribal Art of Middle India*, pp. 37-45.

^{106a} Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, pp. 184, 252.

¹⁰⁷ A. N. Tagore, *Vāṅglār Vrata*, p. 7.

¹⁰⁸ Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and Indus Valley Civilisation*, Fig. 50; *Modern Review*, Nov. 1939.

¹⁰⁹ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. VIII, p. 144.

¹¹⁰ Macaky, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I, p. 220, Pls. LXVIII, LVI, 22.

¹¹¹ Elwin, *The Tribal Art of Middle India*, p. 152.

¹¹² Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 250.

¹¹³ Hopkins, *Religions of India*, pp. 445, 533.

¹¹⁴ Forlang, *Faiths of Man*, Vol. III, p. 98.

¹¹⁵ Ball, *Decorative Motifs of Oriental Art*, 219.

¹¹⁶ *Man in India*, Vol. 33, pp. 222-241.

¹¹⁷ *Man in India*, 1929, Vol. IX, p. 110.

¹¹⁸ Gupte, *Hindu Holidays*, p. 40; *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 238.

¹¹⁹ *Journal of Arts and Crafts*, Vol. I, July, 1933, pp. 6-7.

¹²⁰ *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. I, p. 836.

^{120a} Adam, *Primitive Art*, p. 92.

¹²¹ S. C. Ray, *Oraon Religion and Customs*, pp. 285-86.

¹²² *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IX, pp. 119-20.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-66; Ray, *Birhors*, 103; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 59.

¹²⁴ Elwin, *the Tribal Art of Middle India*, p. 190.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹²⁶ Crooke, *Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 302.

¹²⁷ Budge, *History of Ethiopia*, p. 601.

¹²⁸ *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1943, p. 132.

¹²⁹ Coomaraswamy, *Figures of Speech*, p. 97.

¹³⁰ Elwin, *The Tribal Art of Middle India*, p. 214.

¹³¹ Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, p. X.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. X.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. VI-VII.

¹³⁴ Sarkar, *Aboriginal Races of India*, pp. 34-35.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

¹³⁷ Bhārata Kaumadi, pp. 196-97, Part I.

¹³⁸ *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1950, Vol. XVI, p. 150.

¹³⁹ Hutton, *Census of India*, Vol. I, Part I, 1931, p. 444.

¹⁴⁰ Sarkar, *Aboriginal Races of India*, p. 19.

¹⁴¹ Bhārata Kaumadi, Part I, pp. 206-8.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 205-6.

¹⁴³ Sarkar, *The Aboriginal Races of India*, p. 70-87.

¹⁴⁴ Hutton, *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 306, 445-47.

¹⁴⁵ S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 35.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

¹⁴⁷ Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, p. XXVIII.

¹⁴⁸ Majumdar, The History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. I, p. 149-50.

¹⁴⁹ Bagchi, Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India, p. XXIV.

¹⁵⁰ Bhārata Kaumadi, Part I, p. 208.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 208; Majumdar, The history and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. I, p. 151.

^{151a} Even in Mayurbhanj we have this emblem.

¹⁵² Bhārata Kaumadi, Part I, p. 203.

DESCRIPTIONS OF PLATES AND NOTES

PLATE No. I

It is a square design of the *Tārā-vrata-ālpanā* (Madaripur, Faridpur) with many bigger and smaller square rooms. Inside a bigger square, there are four other squares, each of which again has been partitioned into a number of smaller square rooms. In the 4th square which is attached to the 3rd square upwards and downwards, there is a big circle in which again a smaller circle has been drawn with a circular lotus in it. Remaining space of the outer circle has been filled up with a creeper design. Borders have been decorated with many geometrical patterns. On the left towards the corner, there is the motif of a flower which seems to be a variety of lotus. Other flowers drawn on the corner are locally called *chālṭā* flowers (flowers of an acid-fruit tree). At the four corners of the drawing there are four ornamental designs called *kalkhā*. Above the square, there is the circle representing a head in its frontal view with ears drawn, from which hang *kuṇḍalas* or pendants. There is no representation of eyes, nose, etc., which are very common in other *ālpanās*. Instead, the blank space has been filled up with a circular lotus design. Wavy lines radiating from the circular head indicate the rays of the sun since the circle represents the sun. Below the square, there is a pair of peacocks in a very beautiful position. Rectangular drawing below is the seat on which the observer of the *vrata* takes her seat at the time of the performance of the rite. There is uniformity in designs drawn on all sides of the square and circles.

PLATE No. II

This is another illustration of the *Tārā-vrata-ālpanā* (Madaripur). It mainly consists of square and circle designs. Inside the smaller one, there is a variety of lotus design; in the second, the motif of *saṅkhalatā* or the conch-creeper and in the 3rd a creeper design with flowers. Above the square, there is the circular head in its frontal view with the presentation of eyes, nose, ears, etc. There is the crown of dome-shape over the circular head. Sides of the circular head have been decorated with many creeper and flower designs. Below the square, there is the semi-circle decorated with geometrical patterns, flowers, etc. Inside the square towards the right corner, there are dots indicating stars. The circular head above represents the sun and the semi-circle below

the moon. Below, there is the *modā* (a wicker stool-work stool) to be used as a seat by the observer of the rite.

PLATE No. III

This is a simple variety of *ālpanā* of the same *vrata* (Madaripur) with three concentric circles. Above, there is the circular sun with the usual representation of the physical characters and below, is the semi-circular moon. The central circle has been filled up with a variety of multipetalled lotus and the remaining space of other circles with dots representing stars. Rectangular seat below is for the votary.

PLATE No. IV

It is a beautiful illustration of the *Māgha-maṇḍal-vrata-ālpanā* (Madaripur) consisting of concentric circles. In the central circle there is a beautiful motif of 8 petalled lotus, in the second a variety of *saṅkha-latā*; in the 3rd flowers are joined together by wavy lines representing either creeper or water or river; in the 4th there is a representation of a variety of flower; and in the 5th triangles are drawn, not uniformly, but facing above and below alternately. Outer space of the circle has been decorated with ornamental curved lines. There is the circular head above with the usual representation of eyes, nose, ears, etc., and wavy lines radiating from the *mukuta* (crown) represent rays. The semi-circular drawing below represents the moon. A peacock has been represented as standing on the *modā*.

PLATE No. V

This is another variety of the *Māgha-maṇḍal-vrata-ālpanā*. Here we have beautiful representations of creepers, leaves and flowers which are indeed the characteristic features of the *ālpanā* painting. It consists of five circular lines, intervening space of which has been filled up with numerous designs.

PLATE No. VI

It is a simple form of *ālpanā*-drawing of the same *vrata*, with the usual concentric circles and circular head above and the semi-circle below. In the centre there is the design of the 6 petalled lotus. The seat of the devotee is a rectangular drawing with cross-wise lines inside.

PLATE No. VII-XI

In plates VII to XI are the drawings of 52 items required for the observance of the *Señjuti-vrata* (West Bengal, each of which is worshipped with the chanting of the *chhadās*). Here we find representations of articles wanted or desired for by the girls in course of the observance of numerous magical rites.

Fig. 1, is the deity, i.e. *Señjuti* herself in whose honour the rite is observed. She has been drawn in an outlined temple. Above, there stands the *līṅga* fixed in *Yoni*, below which there are two human figures, which, most probably, represent the male and female potentialities, Śiva and Pārvatī. Fig. 2 represents 16 houses drawn on a single straight line with curved lines on it. Fig. 3 is a *dolā* or palanquin which is a square figure with a semi-circular drawing above. Fig. 4 is a *koḍā*—a straight line with 6 short upwards lines on it. Fig. 5 is a representation of the brinjal leaf, and Fig. 6 is a *sar* or *khāḡḡā*-plant (a kind of reed). Fig. 7 is the representation of a *bilva* plant—it is not a realistic drawing. Fig. 8 is a bamboo *koḍā* or stem. Fig. 9 represents wavy lines radiating one from the other, representing the rivers, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, one emitting from the other. Fig. 10 is a representation of the betel-nut plant, and Fig. 11 indicates two small circles representing the sun and the moon. Wavy lines radiating from one of the circles indicate sun-rays. Fig. 12 consists of lines representing roads leading to a house which is taken to be a shop in the market. Fig. 13 is a square room in to which a cow is tied to a post—cow in the cow-shed. Figs. 14 and 15 are the drawings of jujube and *āśvatthā* plants. Fig. 16 is a golden plate or *thālā* or dish. Fig. 17 is the representation of the temple of Śiva. It is a square room and in it there is a triangle with the trident above. *Līṅga* has been drawn in the centre of the temple. Fig. 18 is a representation of the *ālā*-leaf (custard apple plants' leaf), and Fig. 19 is a *nāṭmandir* (a big temple with a number of doors, etc.). Fig. 20 is a naturalistic representation of the betel-leaf, and Fig. 21 is a three cornered lamp represented by a triangle. Fig. 22 represents a woman with a child in her arms and holding another child standing on the ground (*hāte-po-kāndhe-po*). Fig. 23 is a *dheñki* (husking peddle) along with its body, anvil, etc., in working condition. Fig. 24 is a beadstead, rectangular in shape. Fig. 25 is a human representation, and Fig. 26 is the drawing of a *pidi* (wooden seat) made of mango-wood or jack-fruit tree-wood (*āmākāḡhaler-pidi*) which is also rectangular in shape. Fig. 27 (a and b) is the representation of two cups or *vātis* containing ghee or sandal-wood paste. Fig. 28 is the representation of four types of golden ornaments. Fig. 29 is a kitchen with its woven and the cooking pot on it. Fig. 30 is the drawing of a crab with its legs and eyes shown prominently. Fig. 31 is a rectangular mirror duly framed. Fig. 32 is the representation of an *udvedāli* (squirrel). Figs. 33 & 34 are the representations of *vedis* (a pair of tongs) and *hālā* (spoon). Fig. 35 is a *pāṅkhā* or fan (hand fan made of palm leaf), and Fig. 36 is the representation of a jujube plant. Fig. 37 is a *kajal-latā* (a spoon-like iron for preparing stibium). Figs. 38 & 39 are the representations of the star and a vermilion box. Fig. 40 is a betel-leaf plate on a big bowl in which betel-leaf is preserved. Fig. 41 is a real representation of a blowing conch (*saṅkha*). Fig. 42 is the *maynā* (*gracula religiosa*). Fig. 43 represents human figures, and Fig. 44 is another representation of a local bird called *so-pākhi*.

Fig. 45 is the representation of Indra, the king of gods. Fig. 46 is the teraj, and Fig. 47 represents two figs. Fig. 48 is a *modū* or a big paddy basket, and Fig. 49 is a palm tree. Fig. 50 is the representation of a human head in profile with the tongue coming out as if spitting. Fig. 51 represents a *thau*, and Fig. 52 is a brass precatorus.

PLATE No. XIII

(a) It is a *Ṗṛithivī-pūjā-vrata-ālpanā* with the representation of the lotus-plant with its stocks and flowers. On the last stem there is the 8 petalled lotus on which has been drawn a circle, inside space of which has been filled up with cross-wise lines. It represents the globular earth.

(b) An Orāon ritual diagram—diagram of the *Dādūkātā* or *Bhelwaphāri* ceremony. (Illustrated from S. C. Ray's book.)

PLATE No. XIV

(a) Khāriā drawing for the *Deothān* ceremony (Illustrated from S. C. Ray's book).

(b) Khāriā drawing for the *Dibharnā* ceremony (Illustrated from S. C. Ray's book).

PLATE No. XV

(a) Birhor diagram for the *Tākchānrhi* ceremony (Illustrated from S. C. Ray's book).

(b) Birhor drawing for the *Bona-sonk* ceremony (Illustrated from S. C. Ray's book).

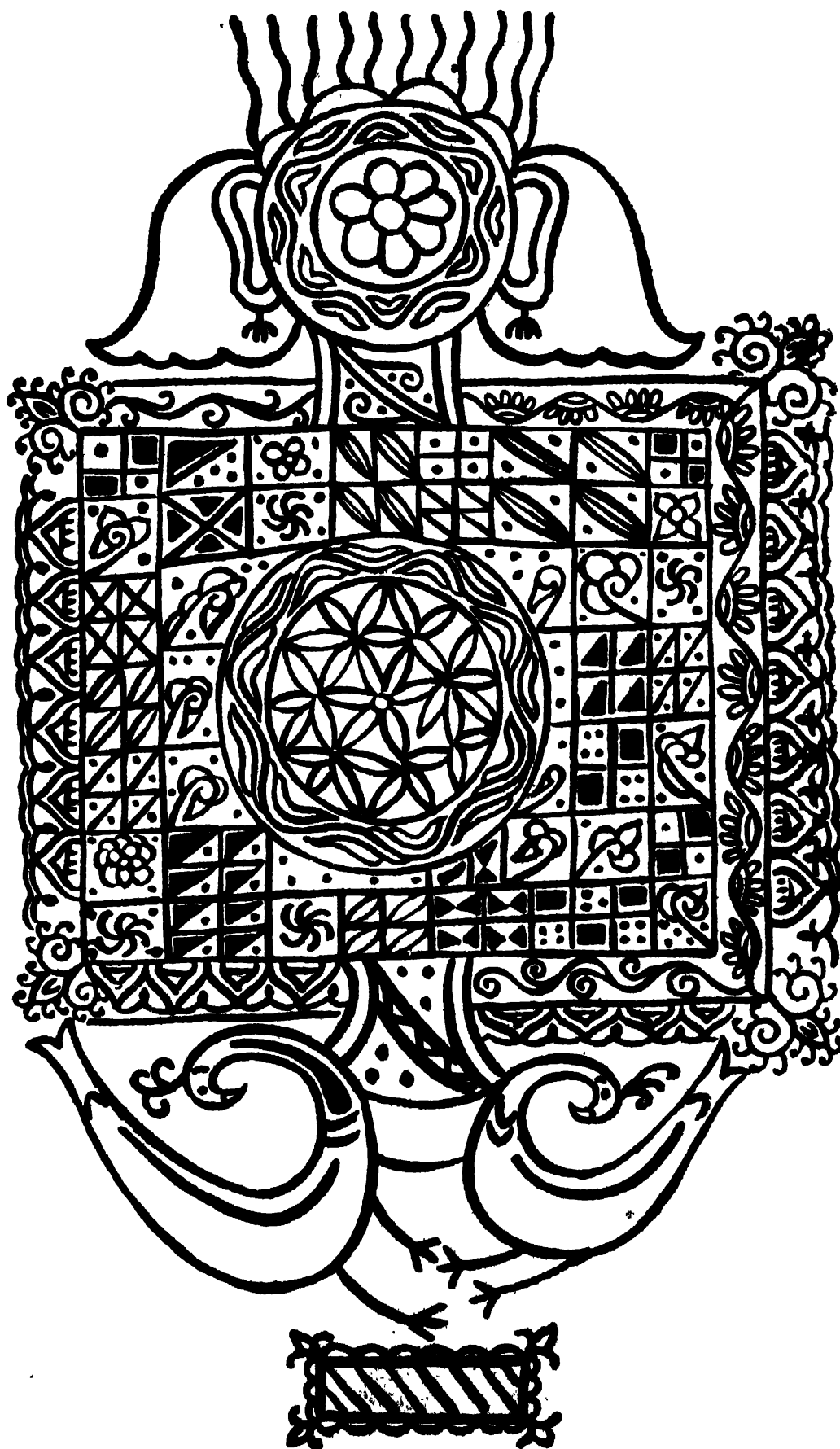
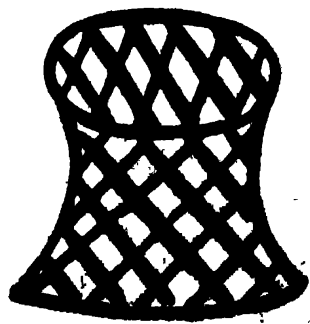


Plate - II



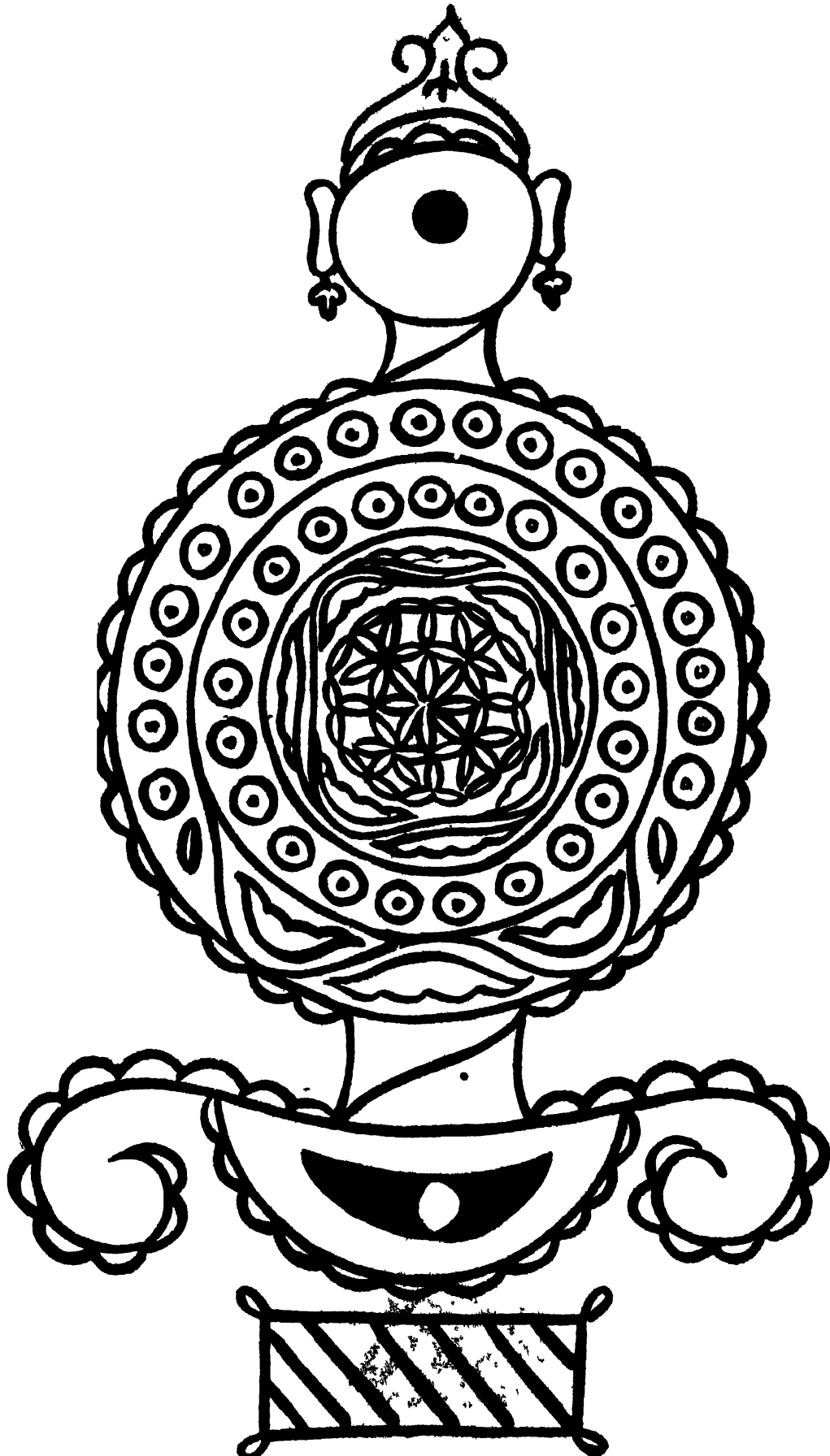


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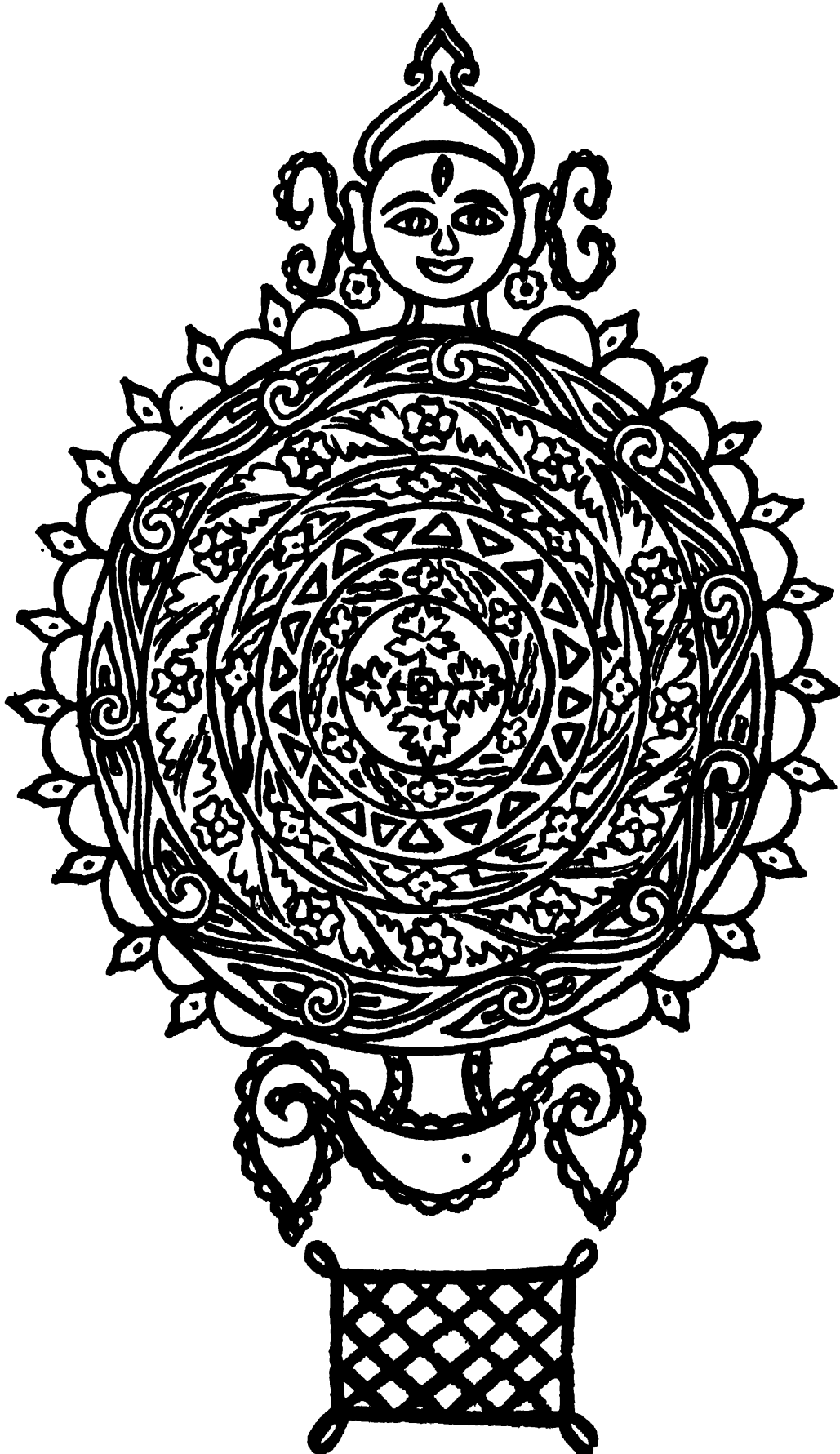
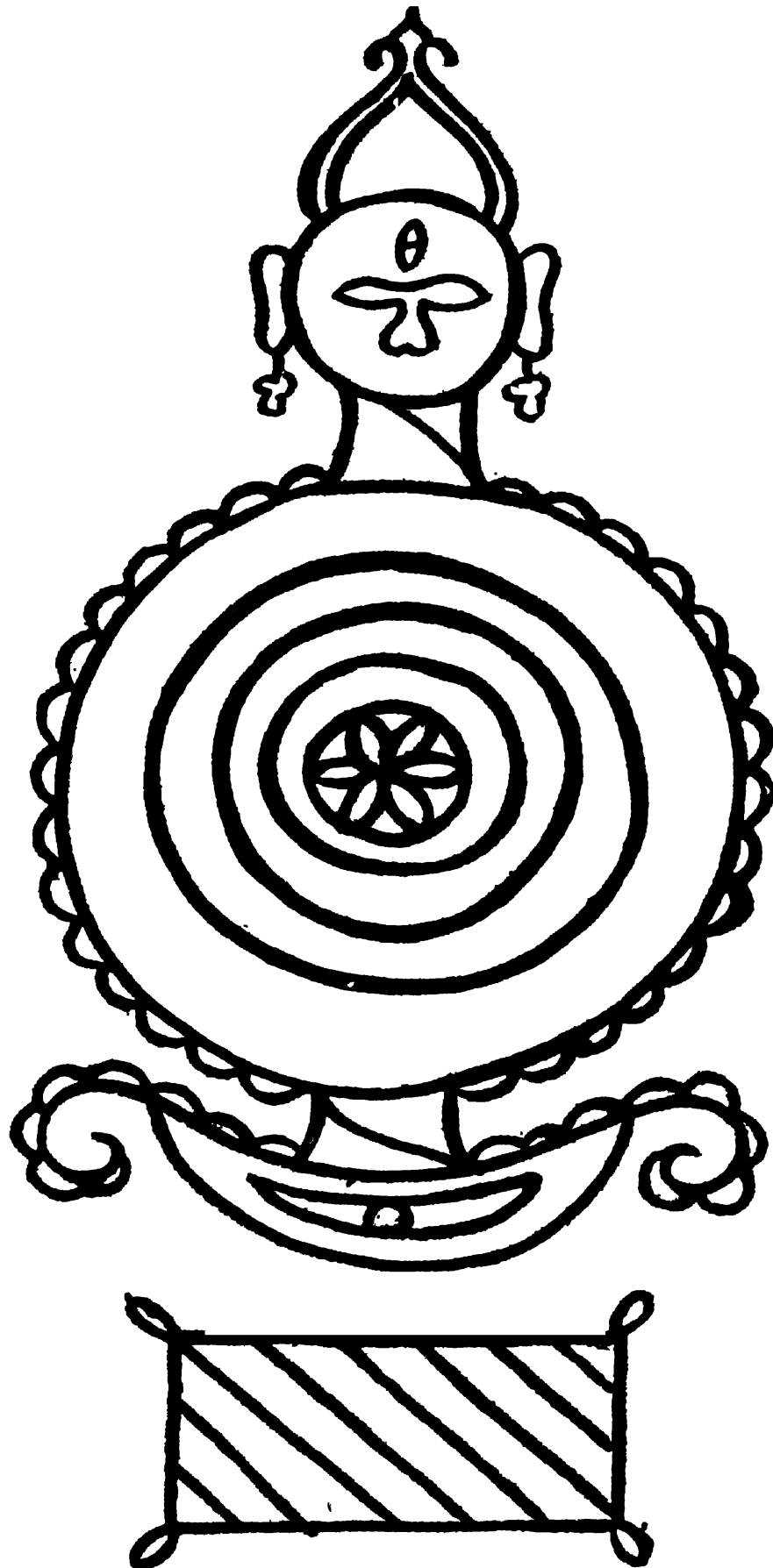


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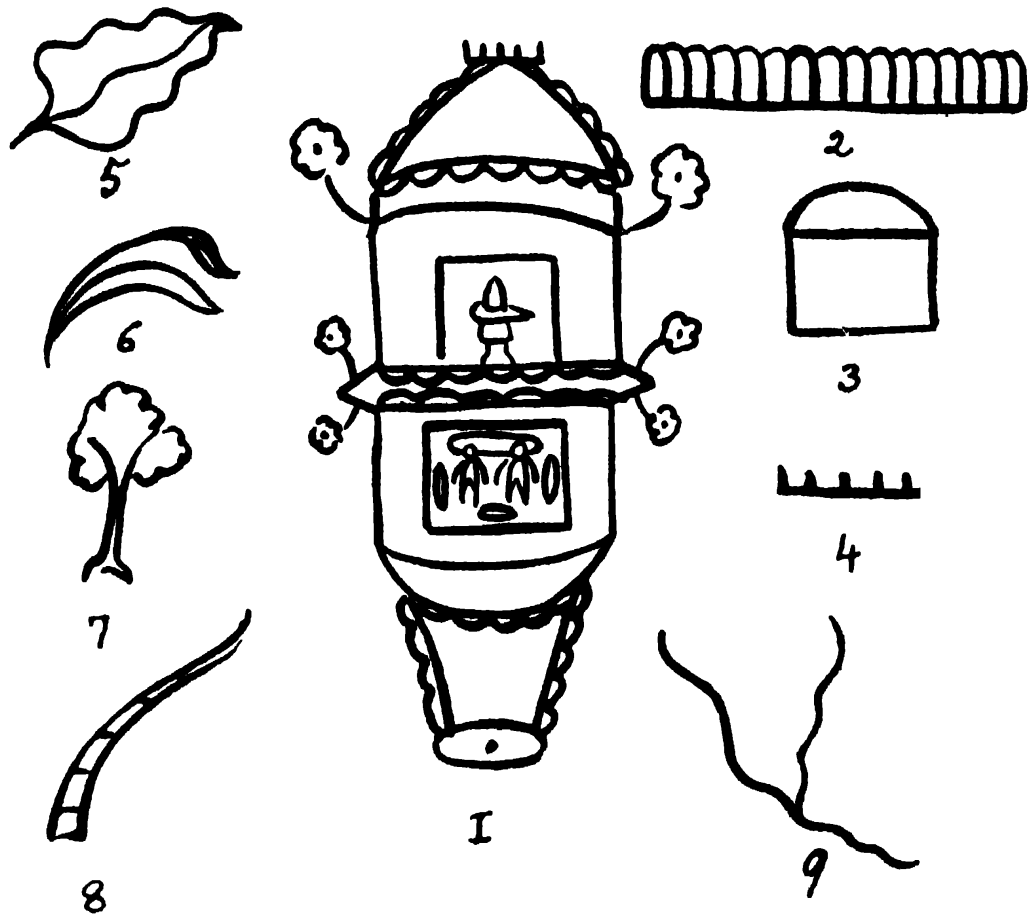
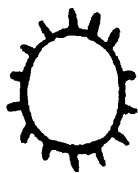


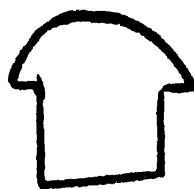
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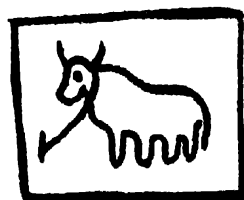
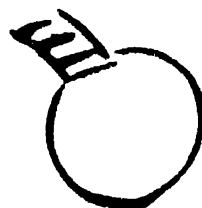
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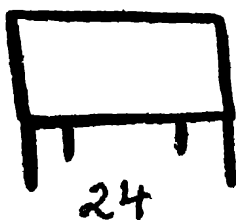
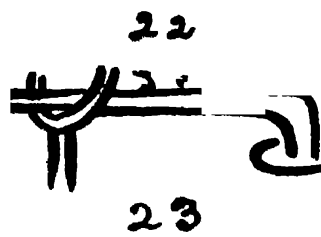
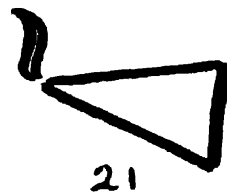
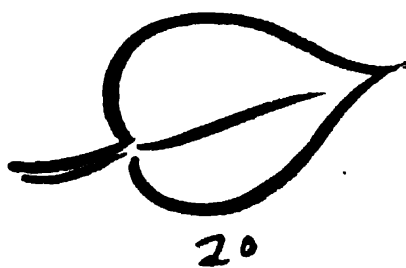
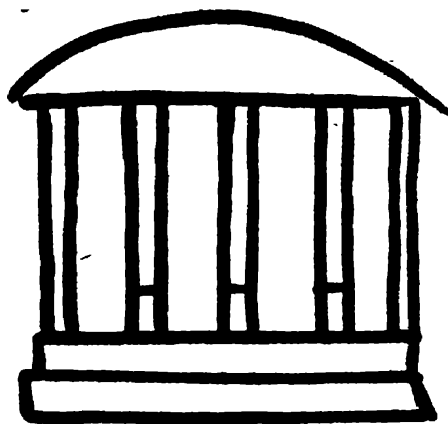
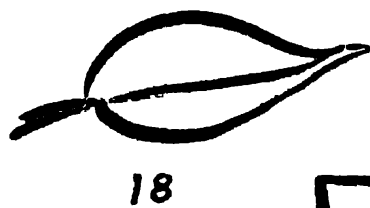
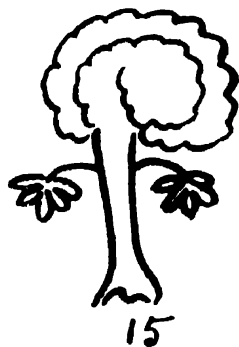


Plate - X



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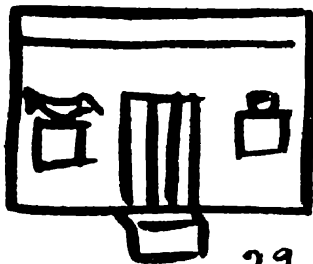
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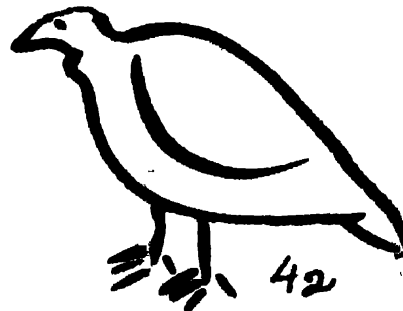
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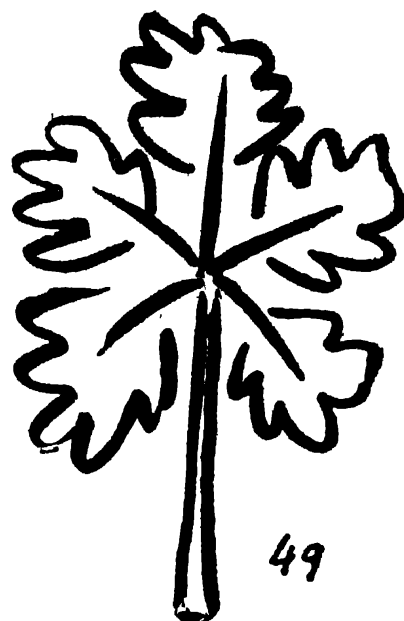
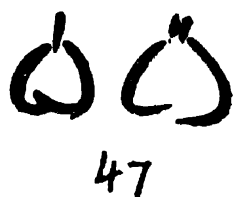
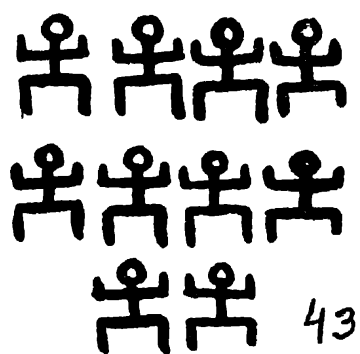
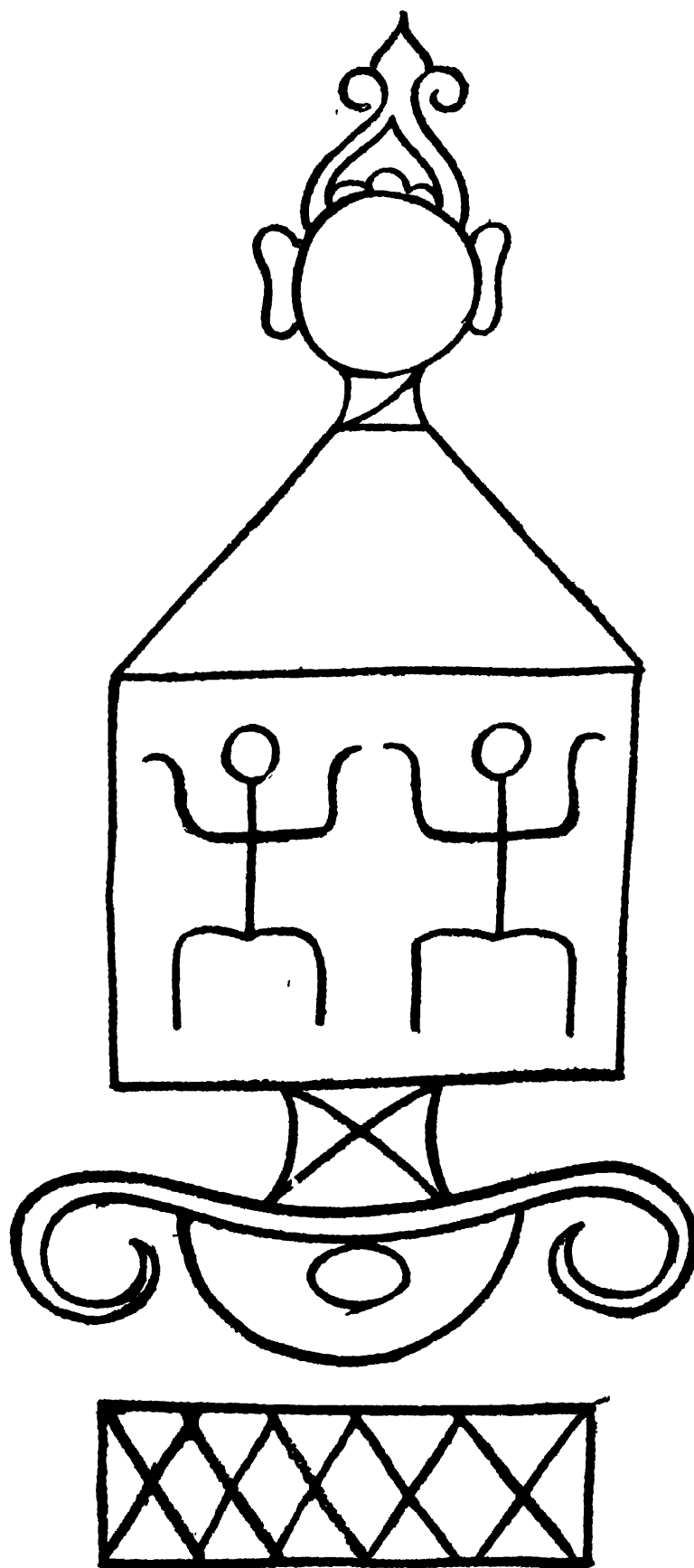
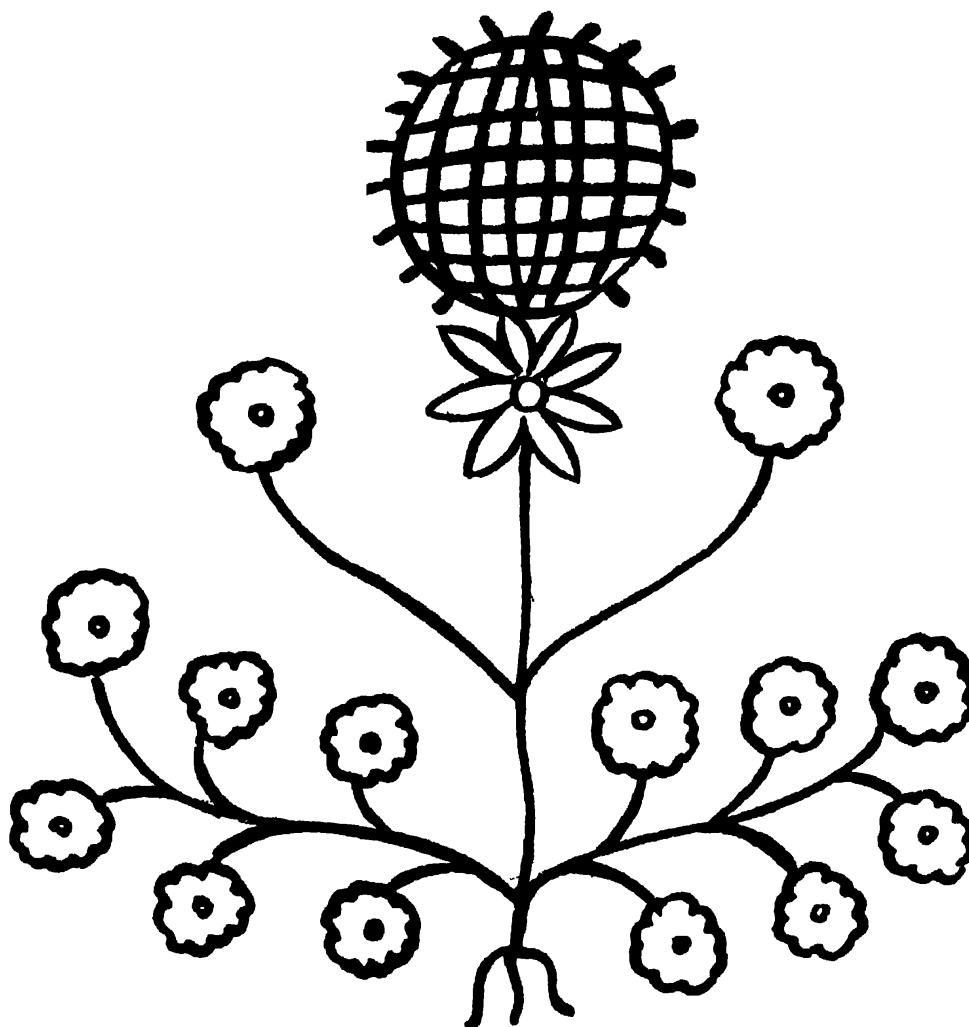
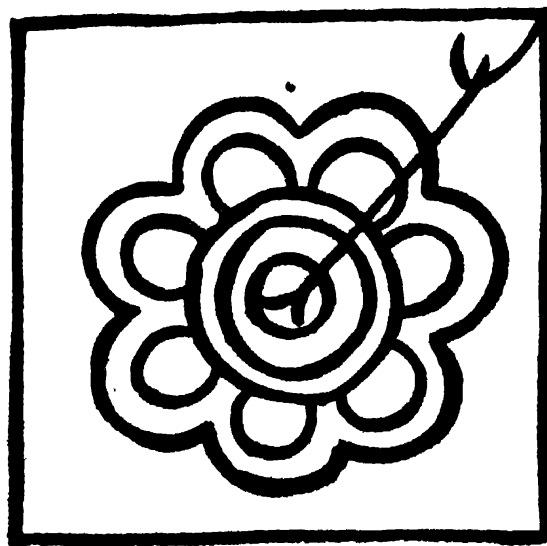


Plate - XII



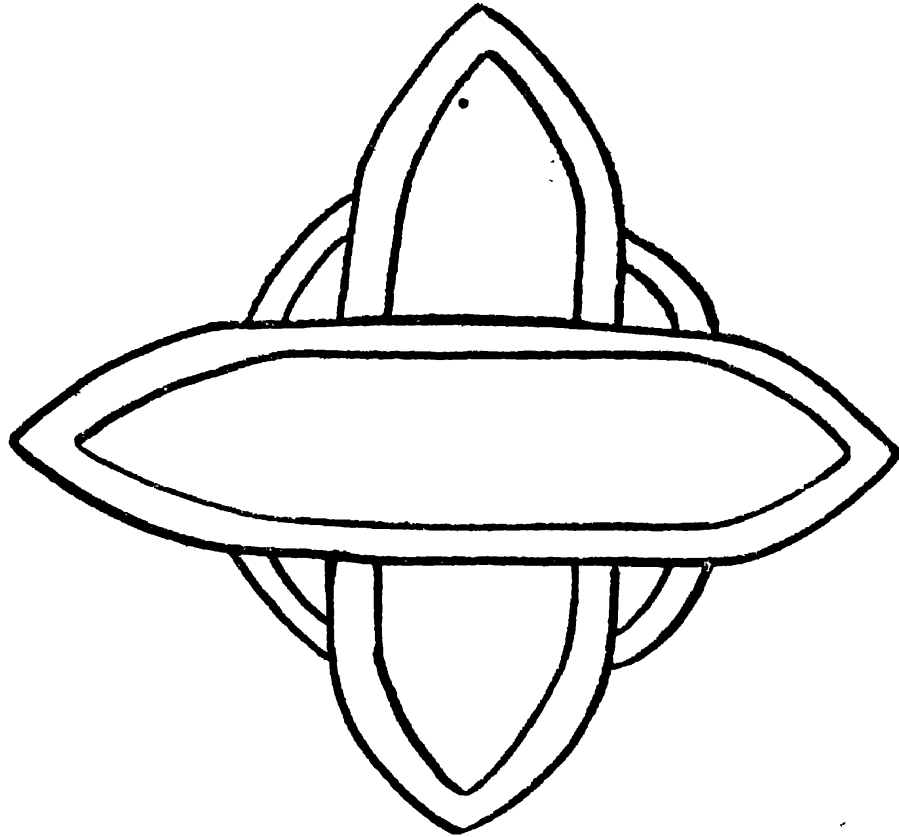


(a)

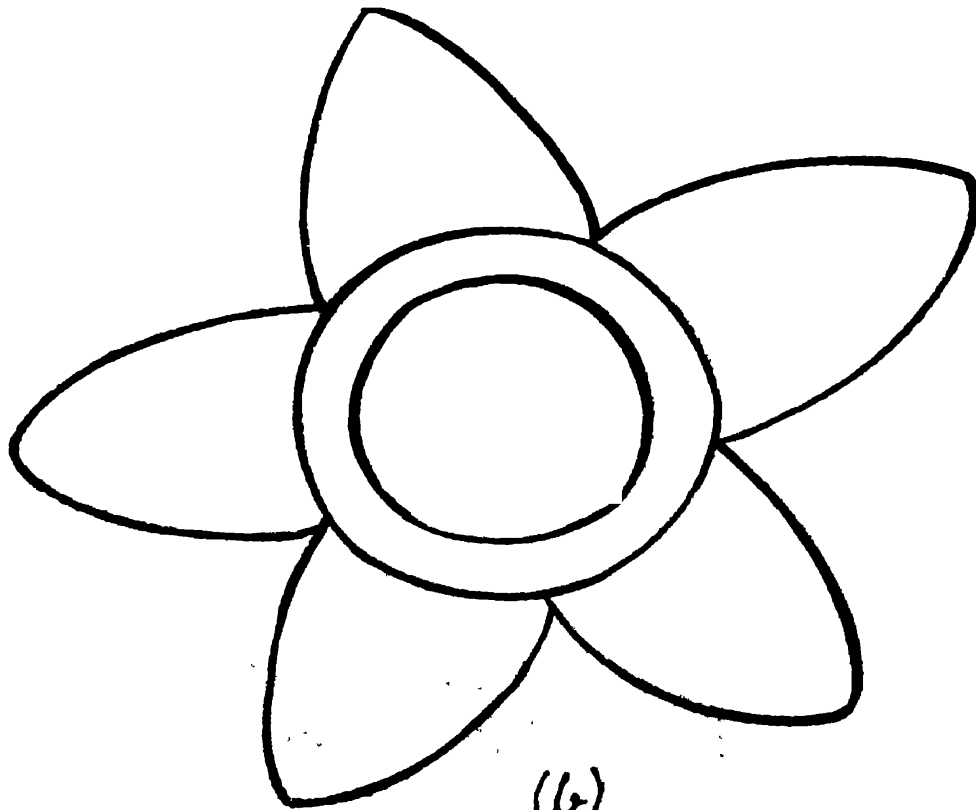


(b)

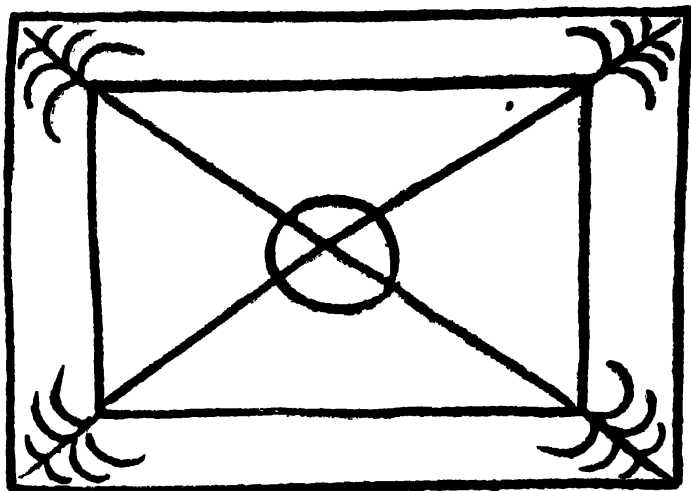
Plate - XIV



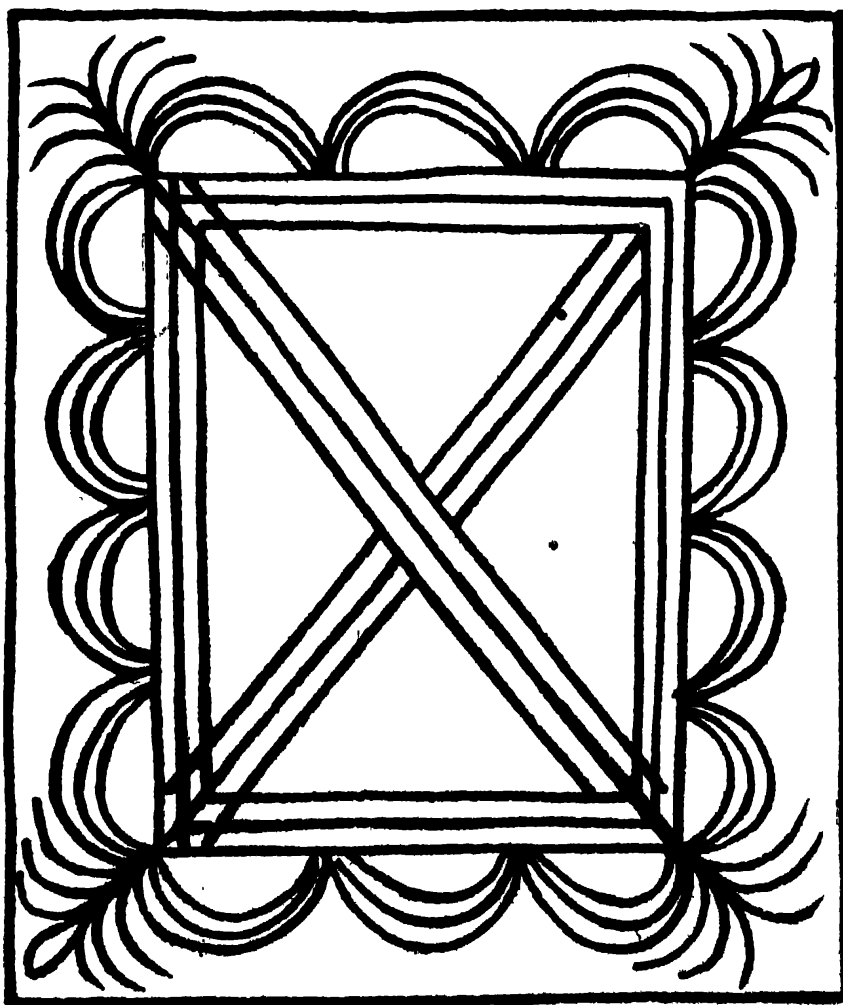
(a)



(b)



(a)



(b)

“Some Aspects of Religious Life as depicted in Early Inscriptions and Literature of Bengal”

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It is not possible to give a strictly chronological and a detailed and complete account of the religious beliefs and practices, occult esoteric ideas, auspicious folk-rites and popular religious institutions, diverse cults and ethical conventions which were prevalent in ancient Bengal and Assam by collecting together some fragments of information supplied by the early inscriptions of Bengal, which may be said to be scattered over a period of roughly eight hundred years in between the fourth century A.D. and circa 1200 A.D., the approximate date of the Muslim conquest of Bengal. The early inscriptions of Assam beginning with the Nidhanpur Copper-plate inscription of Bhāskaravarmanā, who was a contemporary of the emperor Harṣavardhana of Kanauj (and hence belonging to the seventh century A.D.) are similarly scattered over a period of roughly five hundred and fifty years. The meagre data supplied by the early inscriptions of Bengal and Assam have accordingly been supplemented where necessary by additional bits of information supplied by Sanskrit works written by contemporary Bengali writers. Some interesting glimpses of the religious life of a section of the common people of ancient Bengal may also be obtained from the earliest known specimens of Bengali literature known as Caryāpadas. Some valuable hints are supplied and interesting lights are thrown by a study of the ancient monuments, old stone and metal images, coins and terracotta plaques discovered at Mainamati, Pāhārpur, Mahāsthān, Bāṅgarh and some other ancient sites of Bengal.

Eastern countries of India like Bengal, Behar and Assam were according to the testimony of the Dharmasūtras generally con-

sidered during the early period of Aryan Vedic civilisation as being outside the pale of Vedic culture and civilisation. The early inscriptions of Bengal dating from the time of Kumāragupta I of the Imperial Gupta dynasty of India, show beyond doubt that Vedic culture was by this time widely diffused in Eastern India and had widely spread itself in eastern countries of India like Bengal, Behar and Assam. The early inscriptions of Bengal are mostly charters recording gifts of land by Kings, princes, ministers, royal officials, nobles, vassal or feudatory chiefs and private persons to Brāhmaṇas and śramaṇas or ascetics. Brahmanical temples, religious organisations and monastic establishments. (See my article 'Transfer of Landed Property in Ancient Bengal in the Indian Culture, Vol. IX, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 180-84). The early inscriptions of Bengal and Assam, therefore, leave no doubt about the existence during the early Gupta and post-Gupta age in Bengal and in Sylhet of large number of Brāhmaṇas who were quite familiar with Vedic rites and rituals. The mention in the Dāmodarpur Copper-plate inscriptions of orthodox Brāhmaṇas who performed the Agnihotra rites (Plate 1) and the Pañcamahāyajñas (Plate 2) bears witness, as pointed out by R. G. Basak, to the fact that in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. there was no dearth in Bengal of Brāhmaṇas who were acquainted with Vedic rites and rituals. A copper-plate (Plate 3) inscription found at Dāmodarpur of the time of Budhagupta shows that the people were anxious to provide residences for pious Brāhmaṇas and that the Government of those days used also to encourage gifts of land made for the benefit of pious Brāhmaṇas. Another Dāmodarpur copper-plate (Plate 4) inscription states that two temples and two chambers were made for the two gods, Kokāmukhasvāmin and Śvetavarāhasvāmin evidently two Brahmanical gods. Another Dāmodarpur copper-plate (Plate 5) inscription informs us that provisions were made for the worship of the aforesaid gods and for the continuance of the bali, caru, sattra, etc., in connection with the daily worship of the god Śvetavarāhasvāmin. The five Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscriptions which bear dates covering the period of time from circa 443-44 A.D. to circa 533-34 A.D. accordingly corroborate the broad historical statement that during the early Gupta period in Bengal and also in other parts of the vast Gupta empire there was an upheaval of Brāhmanism which had for a time lost its supremacy before the rise of the Gupta dynasty owing to the ascendancy of Buddhism.

The Tippera copper-plate inscription (vide Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 307) of the feudatory chief Lokanātha shows that settlements by making free gifts of land were made of pious Brāhmaṇas who

were versed in the four Vedas even in the easternmost regions of Bengal, full of dense forest, where tigers and other wild animals roamed at large. The most interesting account of such settlements of orthodox Brāhmaṇas is furnished by the Nidhanpur copper-plate inscription of Bhāskaravarmanā which records the settlement in Sylhet of two hundred and five Brāhmaṇas belonging to various gotras and such Vedic śākhās as Vājasaneyī, Cārakya and Taittirīya of the Yayurveda, Chāndoga of the Sāmaveda and Vāhvrya of the Ṛgveda. The Dhanaidaha copper-plate inscription of the year 113 of the Gupta era (corresponding to circa 432-33 A.D.) belonging evidently to the reign of Kumāragupta I of the Gupta dynasty of India thus records that an āyuktaka (very likely a royal officer) purchased some cultivable land by paying the usual price from the Government and made a free gift of the said land to a Brāhmaṇa named Varāhasvāmin of the Sāmavedic school. (Vide Ep. Ind., Vol. XVII, pp. 345ff.). The Kalāikuri copper-plate inscription of the year 121 (A.D. 440-41) also records the purchase of nine Kulyavāpas of land, at the rate of two dīnāras for each Kulyavāpa, distributed in the villages of Hastiśrṣa, Vibhītaka, Gubhyagandhikā and Dhānyapāṭalikā, for being granted, free of revenue, under the terms of perpetual endowment, to the Brāhmaṇas Devabhaṭṭa, Amaradatta and Mahāsenadatta, for the purpose of enabling them to perform their five daily sacrifices (vide B. C. Sen, Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal, p. XII). The Baigram copper-plate inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. XXI, p. 78 ff.) of the year 128 of the Gupta era (i.e. 447-48 A.D.) similarly records the purchase of some land by two brothers named Bhoyila and Bhāskara and free gift by them of the aforesaid plot of land for the sake of meeting the cost of occasional repair of the temple of Govindasvāmin, which was founded by their father Śivanandin, and also with a view to meet the expenditure incurred for the daily worship of the said deity with flowers, lamp, incense and perfumes. The Mulla-sārul copper-plate inscription of Gopa (candra) and Vijayasena (vide Vaṅgīya-Sāhitya-Parishad Patrikā, Vol. 44, No. I, pp. 17-21) assigned by N. G. Majumdar to the sixth century A.D., also shows the upheaval of Brāhmanism in Bengal. This inscription accordingly states that Vardhamāna-bhukti was occupied by holy northern janapadas and was ever prosperous on account of the performance of incessant acts of piety (puṇyottara-janapadā-dhyāsītāyām satatadharma-kriyāvardhamānāyām vardhamāna-bhuktau). There is reference in this inscription to pañcamahāyajña in connection with Vatsasvāmī, the donee mentioned in this grant. According to D. C. Sarkar (Select inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 361, f.n. 9) the word pañcamahāyajña actually refers to a

Brāhmaṇa householder's sacred duties. The Faridpur or Ghāgrā-hāṭi copper-plate grant of the fourteenth regnal year of king Samācāradeva whom Pargiter places in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. (Vide J.A.S.B., New Series, Vol. VII, pp. 465 ff) shows that not only cultivated lands but even waste lands were utilised by making free gifts of such land for the settlement of pious Brāhmaṇas like Supratika Svāmin engaged in performing sacred Vedic rites.

The Tipperah copper-plate inscription records a grant of land by king Lokanātha to his Brāhmaṇa Mahāsāmanta Pradoṣaśarman who made an application to his chief through the King's son, prince Lakṣmīnātha as dūtaka (Line 17), for granting him a plot of land in the forest region (aṭavībhūkhaṇḍa) in the viṣaya of Suvvuṅga. In this granted piece of land the Mahāsāmanta desired to erect a temple, wherein he wished to instal an image of Ananta-Nārāyaṇa (Line 22). Pradoṣaśarman is said to have prayed for land for the maintenance of the daily worship of this god with bali, caru, sattra, etc. and for the dwelling of the Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas (Cāturvidya.—Line 24) whose number exceeded one hundred. The prevalence of Brāhmanism and Brahmanical influence in Eastern India before the rise of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal and Behar may accordingly be inferred from the mention in this inscription of the sacred fire, Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas, Purāṇic deities, etc., as also from the fact that a Brāhmaṇa like Pradoṣaśarman could by the strength of his own arm rise to the dignity of a mahāsāmanta. The inscriptions of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries A.D. thus demonstrate the influx in Bengal of Vedic culture and civilisation.

In the later inscriptions of the Pāla period we find numerous references to grants of land made to Brāhmaṇas versed in the study of the four Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Mīmāṃsā and Vyākaraṇa and capable of performing Vedic sacrifices. The author of a Sanskrit work named Haricarita refers to grants of land made by Dharmapāla to Brāhmaṇas adept in Vedic studies. Caturbhuja, the author of Haricarita, says that his ancestors had received the village of Karañja in Varendra country from Dharmapāla, and that the Brāhmaṇas of that village were well versed in the Vedas, smṛtis and other branches of study (Vide Mm. H. P. Sāstrī, Catalogue of Manuscripts found in the Durbar Library, Nepal, 1, 134). But we do not know exactly whether Dharmapāla mentioned in the Haricarita denotes the well-known emperor of this name of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Behar. Some scholars think that this king Dharmapāla was defeated by King Rājendra Cola (Vide Dhākār Itihāsa by J. M. Roy, Vol. II, p. 107). The Khālimpur

copper-plate inscription of the time of the well-known Pāla emperor Dharmapāla records the gift of land by Mahāsāmantādhipati Nārāyaṇavarmā (Line 49) for the use of the image of Bhagavan Nanna-Nārāyaṇa in the temple at Śubhasthali erected by him and also for the benefit of the Brāhmaṇa caretakers of the Lāṭa country or Southern Gujrat who used to serve the said deity and for the use of all worshippers engaged in the service of the said temple. The Monghyr copper-plate inscription (Vide Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXI, pp. 253-257) records the free gift of a village called Mesikā (Line 30) by Mahārājādhirāja Devapāladeva (Line 29) to a Brāhmaṇa named Vīhekarāta Miśra, son of Varāharāta and grandson of Viśvarāta, belonging to the Aupamanyava gotra and Āślāyana śākhā (Lines 42-43).

The Bādāl Pillar inscription (Vide Ep. Ind., Vol. 2, pp. 160—67; Gauḍalekhamālā, pp. 70 ff) shows that there were in Bengal many families of orthodox Brahmanical origin claiming descent from renowned ancestors. Thus it is stated that the Śāṇḍilya family had its beginning (from Viṣṇu); from this chain (auvaya) sprang up Vīradeva in whose gotra or clan Pāñcāla came into being and from the latter (his son) Garga was born. The name of the progenitor of the Śāṇḍilya family seems to be missing and only the visarga ending of the name appears. Prof. Kielhorn assumes that the name of the progenitor is Viṣṇu. In verse 18 of this inscription Gurava Miśra of this family is described as being a scion of the family of Jamadagni (Jamadagni Kulotpanna . . .). A. K. Maitreya (Gauḍalekhamālā, p. 77, fn.), accordingly concludes that the Śāṇḍilya family mentioned in this inscription is not the same as the well-known Śāṇḍilya clan among the present Rādhīya and Vārendra Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. Garga was the minister of the Pāla emperor Dharmapāla. Śrī Darbhapāṇi was the son of the minister Garga by his wife Icchā. He is called 'dvijeśa' (Line 3, Verse 4). According to A. K. Maitreya the word 'dvijeśa' here means 'the foremost of the Brāhmaṇas'. It may be inferred that Brāhmaṇas who were noted for their learning and proficiency in the four Vedas were sometimes employed as ministers or councilors by Kings. Moreover, it was not uncommon for the son of a minister to succeed his father as minister. Thus Darbhapāṇi, the son of the minister Garga, was the minister of the Pāla emperor Devapāla (cf. Vidya-catuṣṭaya-mukāmbu-rubāṭṭa-lakṣmā naisarg-gikottama-padā-dharita-triṭokaḥ I Sūnu stayoḥ Kamalayoniriva dvijeśaḥ Śrīdarbhapāṇi riti nāma nijandadhānaḥ II—verse 4). By following the wise policy of this minister the emperor Devapāla was able to bring this earth under his subjection (Nītyā yasya bhuvanī cakāra Karadām Śrīdevapālo nṛpaḥ—Verse 5). The rising

flame of the blazing sacrificial fire of Kedāra Miśra, an illustrious member of this family is figuratively described (in verse II of this inscription) as touching the distant horizon (cf. śikhā-cumbidīk-cakravālo). He mastered the four Vedas (caturvidyā-payonidhīm) while he was a young boy (bāla evayaḥ—Verse 12). The Pāla emperor Śūrapāla is described (in Verse 15 of this inscription) as often going personally and as taking his seat like an humble votary at the site where Kedāra Miśra used to perform his own sacred sacrificial rites. Śūrapāla is said to have stooped down his proud head there in reverence in order to have on his head sprinkles of sacred sanctified water (cf. Yasyeṣyāsu..... Śrī Śūrapālo nṛpaḥgatvaiva bhūyaḥsvayaṁ I..... śraddhāmbhaḥ-pluta-mānaso nata-śirā jagrāha pūtaṁ payaḥ II).

Śrī Gurava Miśra, an illustrious member of this family, is described in Verse 20, of the same Garuḍa Pillar inscription (Gaudalekhamālā, p. 83) as being well versed in Āgama and in Jyotiṣa (or the science of astrology) and his family is described as being traditionally engaged in deciphering the secrets and interpreting the true meaning of the Vedas (cf. vedārthānugamād). In the Bhāgalpur copper-plate inscription (Verse 18, Lines 52-53) of Nārāyaṇapāla this Gurava Miśra or Bhaṭṭa Gurava is called the dūtaka for the grant of the village of Makutikā in Tīrabhukti (modern Tirhut) by the emperor Nārāyaṇapāla for the benefit of a temple of Śiva at Kalasapota and also for the use of the assembly of pāsupatācāryas or priests engaged in the service of the said deity of Śiva. Bhaṭṭa Gurava is here described as being a reputed scholar who mastered the Vedas or śrutis, the Vedāṅgas and the Vedānta philosophy (cf. Vedāntai rapyasugamatamaṁ veditā-brahmata (tā)rtham yaḥ sarvvaṣu śrutiṣu paramaḥ sārddhamāṅgai radhītī) I Yo vajñānām samudita mahādakṣiṇānām prapetā bhaṭṭa śrīmāniha sa Guravo dūtakaḥ puṇyakīrttiḥ II). In Verse 3 of the Kṛṣṇadvārikā temple inscription of the time of Nayapāla it is said that people could hardly hear one another's conversation on account of the loud voices of Brāhmaṇas who were engaged in reciting the texts of the Vedas at Gayā (which was then a part and parcel of Bengal). Vedic sacrifices would also be so frequently performed then at Gayā that its air seemed to be filled with the smoke of sacrificial fire. In the Kamauli Copper-plate inscription (Verse 26) of Vaidyadeva (Gaudalekhamālā, p. 145) Śrīdhara, is described as being the best among the Brāhmaṇas (of his age) for his proficiency in the study of the Vedas (śrutādhyayanato) and among other qualities for his efficiency in the performance of Vedic sacrifices (Yajñānām Karaṇād).

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. the Vedic culture

seems to have made a great headway in Bengal under the patronage of the Varman and Sena Kings. The Belāva Copper-plate inscription (Lines 27-28) of Bhojavarman records a grant of some land in the province of Puṇḍravardhanā (i.e. in Northern Bengal). It records that the said land was given to a Brāhmaṇa named Rāma-devaśarmman, son of Viśvarūpadevaśarmman, grandson of Jagan-nāthadevaśarmman and great grandson of Pītāmbaradevaśarmman, who was originally an inhabitant of Madhyadeśa and subsequently a resident of the village of Siddhala in Uttara-Rādhā (i.e. in West Bengal) (Lines 43-45). The donee mentioned in this inscription belonged to the Sāvarnagotra, with Bhṛgu, Cyavana, Āpnuvāna, Aurvva and Jāmadagnya pravaras and the Vājasaneyā Caraṇa, and was a student of the Kāṇva śākhā of the Yajurveda (Lines 41-43) (See Inscriptions of Bengal edited by N. G. Majumdar, pp. 15-16). According to N. G. Majumdar (Inscriptions of Bengal, p. 17) Bhojavarman's reign should be placed towards the close of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. Verse 5 of this inscription states that the relatives of Hari who were the Varmmans, considering that the three Vedas cover the nakedness of men and (we) are neither devoid of it nor are we naked—made themselves protected as it were by mail (varman), inasmuch as their hairs stood on end on account of their zeal for the three Vedas.....(Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 22).

In the Bhuvaneśvar inscription of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (Verse 3) we find the following account of the village of Siddhala in Rādhā: —“There may be a hundred villages which contain gift-lands and are the birth places of Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vedic lore, born in the illustrious lineage of the sage Sāvarnṇa; but the only one that is famous in this world and has adorned the country of Āryāvarta is the village of Siddhala, the foremost of all and the ornament of the fortune-goddess of Rādhā”. (Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. 3, p. 36). The names of Vedic śākhās like Āśvalāyana, Kāṇva, Paippalāda, etc., are found mentioned in many inscriptions of the Sena Kings of Bengal. In the Bhuvaneśvar inscription Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (Verse 23) is said to have been such a versatile scholar that he was indeed second to none, having proficiency in the whole range of Vedic hymns, in all the arts of poesy, in the Āgamas, in the various literature connected with the Arthaśāstra, in medical science, in the science dealing with the use of arms and in other subjects (Vide Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 39). In the Deopārā inscription (Verse 9) of Vijaya-sena, Sāmantasena, an ancestor of Vijayasena, is said to have spent his last days in the sacred hermitages situated in forests on the

banks of the Ganges, which were full of renowned ascetics fighting against the danger of rebirth. These hermitages were fragrant with the smoke of sacrificial butter. Here the young deer is said to have rejoiced (by sucking) in the milk of the breasts of kind-hearted wives of hermits and the multitude of parrots (living here) were familiar with the text of the entire Vedas. (Vide Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 51). It may be noted, however, that Halāyudha, the writer of *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, who adorned the court of Lakṣmaṇasena, the well-known King of the Sena dynasty of Bengal, laments the general decline in Vedic scholarship in Bengal in his days. A meritorious Yajurvedī *Brāhmaṇa* *Prthvīdharaśarmman* is mentioned as being the recipient of some land given as free gift by King Dāmodara even in a later charter, for example, the Chittagong Copper-plate inscription dated in the year 1165 of the Śaka era corresponding to A.D. 1243.

The early inscriptions of Bengal furnish evidences regarding the immigration of *Brāhmaṇas* to Bengal from *Madhyadeśa* (i.e. the Middle country) and some other parts of India. The early inscriptions of Bengal also bear testimony about the emigration of Bengali *Brāhmaṇas* to other provinces of India. As stated before the Belāva Copper-plate inscription of Bhojavarman records that *Pītāmbaradevaśarmman* was originally an inhabitant of *Madhyadeśa* and subsequently a resident of the village of Siddhala in *Uttara-Rāḍhā*. The Khālimpur copper-plate inscription of Dharmapāla records the free gift of four villages for the regular daily worship of the deity Bhagavan Nanna—*Nārāyaṇa* and for the benefit of the *Brāhmaṇa* care-takers of the temple of the said deity who came from the *Lāṭa* country (i.e. Southern Gujrat). The Kamauli copper-plate inscription of Vaidyadeva similarly records the free gift of some land in *Kāmarūpamaṇḍala* situated in *Prāgjyotiṣapura-bhukti* in Assam by king Vaidyadeva to the pious *Brāhmaṇa* *Śrīdhara* whose forefather Bharata was an inhabitant of *Bhāvagrāma* which was situated in the country of *Varendra* (Lines 37-46). Migrations of *Brāhmaṇas* to and from ancient Bengal were thus not uncommon. Such immigration of *Brāhmaṇas* to Bengal seems in all probability to be the basis of stories like that of *Ādiśūra* who is said to have imported to Bengal five *Brāhmaṇas* from Kanauj because there was in Bengal during his days no such *Brāhmaṇa* who knew Vedic rites and rituals. Similar stories are told about some other kings of ancient Bengal. There is no justification in regarding such popular anecdotes as being historical because the early inscriptions of Bengal show that *Brāhmaṇas* proficient in Vedic rites and rituals were never conspicuous, as at present, by their absence in ancient Bengal.

We have, therefore, reason to suppose that the revival of the Vedic culture in the Madhyadeśa (i.e. Midlands) under the patronage of the Imperial Guptas led to an influx in Bengal of orthodox Vedic culture. As stated before, already in the fifth century A.D., the orthodox Vedic culture began its eastward movement from the Midland country and this culture was carried to eastern countries by orthodox Brāhmaṇas who acted as its torch-bearers. With the extension of patronage to such Brāhmaṇas by the later kings of Bengal, this movement received a great impetus from the middle of the seventh down to the close of the twelfth century A.D. The ancient Sanskrit literature of Bengal also bears ample testimony about the existence as torch-bearers of Vedic culture of numerous Vedic scholars in ancient Bengal (Vide History of Bengal edited by R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, pp. 395 ff).

The introduction of many new Paurāṇic deities and Paurāṇic conceptions in Brahmanical Hinduism and the transformation of the original Vedic gods and goddesses are notable characteristics of Brahmanical Hinduism as we find it during the Gupta and post-Gupta ages in Bengal. Although Vedic culture never ceased to be a living force, the Brahmanical Hindu religion underwent a great modification during the early centuries of the Christian era. The new form of Brāhmaṇism had already taken deep roots during the Gupta period in the minds of the people. The Vedic gods mostly disappeared and their places were occupied by new divinities whom we call "Purāṇic". Even in the early Gupta inscriptions we find gods who, although Vedic in name, had no real connection with the Vedic rituals. Thus older gods like Viṣṇu, Rudra or Śiva, Indra, Varuṇa, Yama, Kuvera, Kārtikeya, etc., lost their original Vedic characters and were mostly endowed with the popular mythological ideas which we find in the later epics and Purāṇas. The influence of this type of popular Hindu religion made itself already felt during the Kushān period and it developed considerably during the Gupta age. Bengal was no exception to this rule and this is amply proved by the early inscriptions of the Guptas, Pālas, Varmans, Candras, Senas, and some other dynasties who ruled in ancient Bengal. (Vide History of Bengal edited by R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, pp. 395 ff). Thus older Vedic gods like Indra, Agni, Nāsatya, Varuṇa, etc. and goddesses like Uṣā or Dawn, Dyau or Mother Earth, etc., ceased to commend themselves to popular choice and as such gradually disappeared from popular Hindu pantheon. The characters of some of the earlier Vedic gods like Yama also changed in course of time. As pointed out by R. N. Dandekar (Vide Dandekar's article "Yama In The Veda" in B. C. Law Volume, Part I, p. 209) the Rudra-mythology seems

to have significantly reacted on the Yama-mythology.. The benevolent ruler of the blessed souls, the helpful father of 'fathers', *who had originally nothing to do with death and whose proper function even as represented in a later stage commenced after 'death' came to be identified in later Hindu mythology with death.* The conception of Yama's role as the fearful and 'restraining' god of death must have been facilitated also by the popular derivation of the word 'Yama' from the root Yam (meaning to restrain). The line of development of Purāṇic Brāhmaṇism has been very ably indicated by R. C. Hazra of the Dacca University in his *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs* published by the University of Dacca (Bulletin No. XX, 1940).

The mythology of the Purāṇas and the simple ritual of the pūjā were adopted first in Brahmanical Hindu religion. The ritual of the pūjā or the rituals connected with the ceremonial worship of Hindu divinities was thus given a place beside the Vedic ritual of homa or the fire-sacrifice. The worship of Viṣṇu, of Śiva and of Umā or Devī was introduced and Śrī (or Lakṣmī) was one of the earliest of these extra-Aryan deities to establish her position in the later Hindu pantheon. Then came the esoteric ideology and the elaborate practices of the Tantra. The origin of these Tāntric ideas and practices is not known; but it seems that the esoteric ideology of the Tantra and its rituals, connected as these were from the beginning with occult yogic or psychic practices, represented, as Prof. S. K. Chatterji observes, the pre-Aryan probably Dravidian religion in excelsis. The Brāhmaṇas formally and officially always gave the superiority to the Vedas and Vedic cults and rituals but gradually the Purāṇic cults and the Purāṇic rituals were admitted by them. Then from the middle of the first millennium A.D. the Brāhmaṇas had to make another big concession, by admitting Tāntric rites and ideas. Up to about 800 A.D., the mixed Vedic Purāṇic Brāhmaṇism as in the Purāṇas appears to have been free from Tāntric influences. But after that period Tāntric rites and ideas were given greater and greater recognition in Hindu life and in Hindu religion. Not only Brāhmaṇism with its great gods Viṣṇu and Śiva (with his consort Umā) but also Buddhism fell under the spell of the Tāntric ideology, mythology and ritual. Mahāyāna Buddhism with its pronounced bias for mysticism and theism formed an equally fertile field for the seed of Tāntric ideas to take root and to have a vigorous growth. Śaktism, with its Brahmanical Śiva and Umā cults of Purāṇic origin, became accepted in Mahāyāna Buddhism of Eastern India (including Bengal). Hīnayāna Buddhism was current in Bengal side by side with the Mahāyāna, which

appears, as shown by Prof. P. C. Bagchi (Vide History of Bengal edited by R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I), to have been fully established in Bengal by the beginning of the sixth century A.D. The Mahāyāna form of Buddhism as known to the Chinese traveller Hiuen Ts'ang in the seventh century A.D. was transformed in Bengal with Tāntric accretions into the Tantra-yāna, and its ramifications the Kālacakra-yāna, the Vajra-yāna (this concerning itself mainly with a new and elaborate ritual and ceremonial of worship with bīja-mantras or mystic syllables of power and mudrās or gestures with the fingers, which formed a surer and at the same time much easier esoteric path—sādhana-mārga—for the attainment of Bodhi or highest wisdom), and Sahaja-yāna (of which the exponents were the eighty-four great adepts of mysticism known as the Siddhas, who discouraged ritual and outward worship of the gods or cultivation of the 'virtues' and inculcated the culture of hidden powers within the body by yoga practices, including breath-control, leading to the condition of supreme bliss that is the natural—sahaja—state in which man feels that his essential unity with the inner spirit of things is realised). Till the last there was a certain amount of Brahmanical opposition to Tāntric mysticism and symbolism and to Tāntric practices. But the Buddhists in Bengal succumbed to these completely. In Tāntric Buddhism, the Tāntric symbolism and practices found a potent channel through which it exerted an indirect but nevertheless very effective influence on Purāṇic Brāhmaṇism. There has taken place, as Prof. S. K. Chatterji aptly says, in both Upper India and Bengal a commingling of cults, in both their ideals and theories and their practices and rituals, among Purāṇic Brāhmaṇism (including Tāntricism), Buddhism in its numerous later phases, and Jainism; and this has led to a tangle particularly by the interaction of the Purāṇic cults of Brāhmaṇism on the one hand and the various forms of later Buddhism on the other in Bengal which it is well nigh impossible to untie. And the matter has been further complicated by an independent group of cults and rituals entering into this tangle—those of pre-Aryan origin, which were in vogue among the Dravidian, Austric, Tibeto-Burman and other primitive peoples of Bengal who were its original inhabitants, upon whom Upper Gangetic Aryan speech and Hindu (i.e. Brahmanical or Vedic, Purāṇic and Tāntric) as well as Buddhist and Jain religion and culture were imposed transforming them into an Aryan speaking Hindu people by the end of the first millennium A.D. (Vide "Buddhist Survivals in Bengal" by Suniti Kumar Chatterji in B. C. Law Volume, Part I, pp. 75-82).

Buddhism and Jainism appear to have been introduced in

Bengal even before the commencement in Bengal of the rule of the Kings of the imperial Gupta dynasty. But there was no kind of persecution by the government of those days against any religion in Bengal and as such there was no kind of mutual hostility and antagonism in ancient Bengal between Brahmanical Hindus, Buddhists and Jains. The early inscriptions of Bengal show beyond doubt that Brahmanical Hindus had no scruple whatsoever to make endowments for the worship of the Arhats in Jaina monasteries and for the worship of Buddhist images in Buddhist convents. The Buddhists similarly had not the slightest hesitation to make free gifts of land for the benefit of pious and learned Brāhmaṇas by touching the holy water of the river Ganges. Thus the Pāhārpur Copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year—159 (i.e. A.D. 478-79) records that a Brāhmaṇa named Nātha-śarmmā and his wife named Rāmī deposited three dīnāras or three gold coins in the city Council (adhṣṭhān-ādhikaraṇa) to secure 1 Kulyavāpa and 4 droṇavāpas of land situated at four different villages all lying in the Dakṣiṇāśaka-Sithi and Nāgiraṭṭa maṇḍala for the maintenance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers, lamps, etc. of the divine Arhats in the Vihāra of Vaṭa-Gohālī which was presided over by the disciples and the disciples of disciples of the Nirgrantha preceptor (śramaṇācārva) Guhanandin, belonging to the Pañca Stūpa section (nikāya) of Benares. The donation by a Brāhmaṇa couple for the worship of Jinas, as recorded here, is noteworthy for it shows the religious toleration of the people of this period. The Jaina Vihāra (monastery) at Vaṭa-Gohālī mentioned in this inscription, must have stood at the original site of the temple at Pāhārpur. Few relics of the Jaina faith have come to light during the excavation at Pāhārpur but numerous Brahmanical and Buddhist bas-relief and terracotta plaques, dating from the late Gupta age, have been found. In the ninth and succeeding centuries of the Christian era, the Pāhārpur temple was known as the great Buddhist Vihāra of King Dharmapāla at Somapura, the latter place being recognised in the modern village of Ompur, a mile to the South of the Pāhārpur mound (Vide Ep. Ind., Vol. XX, pp. 59 ff).

Regarding the prevalence of Jainism in Bengal the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang, who visited the country of Puṇḍravardhana in the Second quarter of the Seventh Century A.D., records that "there are some 100 Deva temples, where sectaries of different schools congregate. The naked Nirgranthas are the most numerous". (Vide Beal's, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 195). As at Pāhārpur, so also at Mainamati, Jainism appears to have flourished side by side with Buddhism and

Brahmanical Hinduism. The stone image of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara has been found in a mound at Mainamati. No other Jaina remains could be noticed in this locality. We do not hear much of Jainism in East Bengal. The existence of a Jaina Vihāra in the fourth century A.D. at Vaṭa-Gohālī in the present site of Pāhārpur; Hiuen Tsang's reference in the 7th century A.D. to the influence of the Nirgranthas in North, South and East Bengal, the subsequent disappearance from Bengal of the sect of Nirgranthas during the Pāla and Sena period, the probable, assimilation of the Nirgranthas by the end of the Pāla period in the Avadhūtas and such other religious sects and the re-establishment in Northern Bengal during the Mahammanadan period of the old religion in its new form, are some of the features in the development of Jainism in Bengal. Its sway in East Bengal in contrast to the spectacular hold that Buddhism had in Bengal was not much. The kings of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Behar are known from their inscriptions to have been mostly paramasaugatas or ardent followers of Sugata (i.e. Buddha). The emperor Nārāyaṇapāla, great grandson of Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty does not, however, seem to have been a Buddhist like other members of his family because the traditional family epithet 'paramasaugata' is conspicuous by its absence before his name in the early inscriptions of Bengal. As stated before, the Bhāgalpur copper-plate inscription shows that Nārāyaṇapāla was a Śaiva because he made free gift of a village named Makutikā for the benefit of a temple of Śiva which was established by him in the village of Kalaśapota in Tīrabhukti (modern Tīrhut) and for the use of the assembly of Pāśupata priests engaged in the service of the temple of the aforesaid deity of Śiva. The Bāṅgaṛh copper-plate inscription shows that the Pāla emperor Mahīpāla I, a devout worshipper of Buddha (paramasaugata), had no scruple whatsoever to make a free gift in honour of the Lord Buddha (bhagavantam Buddhahatṭārakam uddīśya) after taking his bath in the water of the river Ganges of a village named Kuraṭapallikā lying in the Gōkalikā-maṇḍala of the viṣṣaya (district) of Koṭīvarṣa in the province (bhukti) of Puṇḍravardhana to a Hindu Brāhmaṇa named Kṛṣṇāditya-Śarmmā belonging to the Parāśara gotra (Vide J.A.S.B., Vol. LXI, pp. 77-87). The Manahali copper-plate inscription (Vide J.A.S.B., 1900) also shows that the chief queen (paṭṭamahādevī) Citramatikādevī of the Buddhist (paramasaugata) emperor (mahārājādhirāja) Madanapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal had no scruple to hear the recitation and popular exposition of the text of the Mahābhārata composed by the sage Vedavyāsa from a learned and pious Brāhmaṇa named Vaṭeśvara Svāmiśarmmā. As fee for this work of recitation and

exposition of the text of the Mahābhārata the Buddhist emperor Madanapāla granted through this copper-plate grant a village in Halāvartta-maṇḍala in the Koṭivarsa-viṣaya (district) of the bhukti (province) of Puṇḍravardhana (in Northern Bengal) to the afore-said Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Kautsa gotra and the Kauṭhuma branch of the Sāmaveda, who was an inhabitant of the village of Campāhiṭṭī (cf. Yathopārīlikhitoyaṁ grāmaḥ II.....Kautsa-sagotrāya Sāmavedāntargata-Kauṭhuma-śākhādhyāyine Campāhiṭṭīvāstavyāya Śrī Vateśvarasvāmi-śarmmane paṭṭa-mahādevī-Cītramatikayā Vedavyāsa-prokta-prapāṭhita-Mahābhārata-samutsarggita dakṣiṇātvena bhagavantaṁ Buddha-bhaṭṭārakamud-diśya śāsanīkṛtya pradatto'smābhiḥ I—Lines 38-46).

Buddhism seems to have been more popular in northern and eastern Bengal. Buddhism was, however, not unknown in Western Bengal. Hinduism seems to have been more predominant in Western Bengal during the period under review. In central Bengal the cultivation of sacred works dealing with the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism seems to have continued down to the fifteenth century A.D. Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā is a notable work of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In a manuscript of this work written in the eleventh century A.D. during the reign of Mahīpāla I we find the names and pictures of the well-known sacred places of Buddhist pilgrimage in ancient Bengal. Among the Pīṭhas or sacred places of Buddhist pilgrimage the most numerous were the pīṭhas or sacred places containing the images of Lokanātha. Thus there were Lokanātha-pīṭhas in the villages of Halḍi and Deddāpura in Varendrī; in the villages of Kanyārāma, Rāmajāta and Vaitravanā in the country of Rāḍha (*i.e.* in Western Bengal). There was a Lokanātha-pīṭha in the village of Yajñapiṇḍi in Daṇḍabhukti. There were two Lokanātha-pīṭhas in the villages of Jayatūṅga and Campitalā in the country of Samataṭa. In the country of Harikela there was a Lokanāthapīṭha called "Śilā". In Suvarṇapura there was a Lokanāthapīṭha in the village or town of Śrīvijayapura. Well-known Tārā-pīṭhas were situated in the village of Rāṇā in Varendrī, in the village of Tāḍihā in the country of Rāḍha, and the goddess "Buddharddhi-Tārā" was the most notable deity in the country of Samataṭa. Other notable places of Buddhist pilgrimage in Bengal at that time were the Dharmarājikā Caitya in the country of Rāḍha, the Vajrāsana in the village of Lutu in the country of Rāḍha, the Triśaraṇa-Buddha Bhaṭṭāraka in the country of Puṇḍravardhana (*i.e.* in north Bengal), etc. These Buddhist pīṭhas can no longer be found in modern days in Bengal. Some of them were in course of time changed or converted to Śaiva or Śākta temples or convents. The modern temple of

Lokanātha near the well-known Hindu temple of Tārakeśvara in the district of Hooghly is probably a reformed kind of ancient Buddhist Lokanātha-pīṭha. So the adage goes—"old gods never die". The Mahāyāna form of Buddhism seems to have been greatly in vogue in most of the Vihāras or monasteries of ancient Gauḍa, Vaṅga and Magadha and in some other places in eastern India during the rule of the kings of the Gupta and Pāla dynasties in Bengal and Behar. Monks (bhikṣus) and students from countries outside India would come to these monasteries in order to study the sacred scriptures of the Brahmanical Hindus and the Buddhists. Some of these foreign bhikṣus or students would sometimes adopt Indian names. The manuscript of a work dealing with the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism written by a Chinese ("Cīnadeśavinirgata") bhikṣu named Puṇyakīrtti has now been found. The writing of this manuscript was finished on the 9th day of the month of Phālguna in the village of Ghoṣalī during the 57th regnal year of the Pāla King Gopāladeva.

In Bengal, Vajrayāna deities have been discovered at Gaurī in the district of Burdwan, at Sāgardīghi and Ghiyasabad in the district of Murshidabad, at Sonarang and Vikrampur in the district of Dacca, in the district of Birbhum, in Pāhārpur and Mahāsthān, in Tipperah, Baḍ-Kāmtā, Rājsāhī, Faridpur, Malda, Sylhet, Barisal, in former Tripurā State and in the Chittagong district. In Behar, Vajrayāna deities have been found in Nālandā, Bihar Sarif, Patna and Gayā districts, Bodh-Gayā, Kurkihar, Hazaribagh, Patharghata (in Bhāgalpur) and some other places. In the United Provinces Sārnāth is the only important place where a number of Vajrayāna deities have been found. A few Vajrayāna deities have also been found at Mahoba in modern Bundelkhand. In Bengal proper, Vajrayāna deities of different types have been discovered in large numbers from Vikrampur, Dacca, Tipperah, Faridpur, Rajshahi and to a certain extent from Birbhum. In other parts of Bengal only a sprinkling of such images is found. According to N. K. Bhattasali (Vide *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* by N. K. Bhattasali, 1929) Vaṅga and Samatāṭa were two important centres of culture in ancient Bengal. From these two important centres cultural influences radiated to other parts of pre-Muhammadan Bengal. According to Benoytosh Bhattacharya (*see* Benoytosh Bhattacharya's article "The Home of Tāntric Buddhism" in *B. C. Law Volume, Part I*, pp. 354-361) this Vaṅga-Samatāṭa region seems in all probability to have been the original home of Tāntric Buddhism. Vajrayāna ideas and practices seem to have spread themselves from the Vaṅga-Samatāṭa region through the influences

of eminent Bengali authors, teachers, mystics and poets belonging to the Vajrayāna school to other parts of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Assam, United Provinces and to Nepal and Tibet. According to N. K. Bhattasali Vaṅga included in the early days the modern districts of Dacca, Faridpur and Backerganj, while Samatāṭa included the whole of the present Chittagong division* and the plains of Sylhet and portions of the present Dacca and Mymensing districts. The celebrated Buddhist author Śāntarakṣita belonged to Vaṅga, his birth-place being Zā-hor (modern Sabhar in the Vikramapura Paragana). So is the case with Śāntideva or Bhusuku, Padmasambhava, Dīpaṅkara-Śrī-jñāna and a host of other Siddhācāryyas. That many of them belonged to Vaṅga, Eastern India, Vikramapurī, Jagaddala, Puṇḍravardhana, Pāṇḍubhūmi, Somapurī and such other places in Bengal is to-day a matter of common knowledge. Vajrayāna images are found in considerable quantities in the Vaṅga-Samatāṭa area. Vajrayāna authors or writers are connected with this country. Vajrayāna paintings in Prajñāpāramitā manuscripts refer to Vajrayāna temples existing in this country. Many of the Siddhas or masters of Vajrayāna are connected with this country and so also many of the Vajravāna songs and their composers. This tract abounds also in ruins of old Buddhist monasteries and cities. N. K. Bhattasali has also pointed out names of villages and towns in Vaṅga and Samatāṭa which even today are of distinctly Buddhist flavour. Names of places like Vajrayoginī not only have Buddhist associations, since Vajrayoginī is a well-known Buddhist deity, but also signifies its connection with Vajrayāna because the word "Vajra" in Vajrayoginī means Śūnya which is the Vajrayāna term for the ultimate reality.

According to the testimony of the Tibetan works, Uḍḍiyāna was the place where Tāntric Buddhism originated. The late Mr. Haraprasad Śāstrī identified Uḍḍiyāna with Orissa. According to Benoytosh Bhattacharya, Uḍḍiyāna was probably situated somewhere in Assam in the vicinity of the Vaṅga-Samatāṭa region. In Tāntric literature Uḍḍiyāna is mentioned along with Kāmākhyā, Sirihatṭa and Pūrṇagiri. Uḍḍiyāna is also mentioned in a work called Sādhana-mālā. These four Pīṭhas are mentioned in connection with the worship of the Vajrayāna deity Vajrayoginī who, according to Benoytosh Bhattacharya, is the same as the Hindu deity Chinnamastā, one of the ten Mahāvidyās of the Hindu Tantra which borrowed it from Vajrayāna. Uḍḍiyāna was the home of Indrabhūti. The Sahajayāna referred to in the old Bengali Caryāpadas relates to mystic Buddhism like Vajrayāna. The existence of the Sahajayāna is attested to by an inscription

of the thirteenth century A.D., engraved on a copper-plate found at Mainamati which records a grant of land in favour of a Buddhist monastery built in the city of Paṭṭikerā by Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva in A.D. 1220 in the 'Seventeenth year of his reign, which speaks of a superior officer of the royal groom as practising the Sahajadharma in Paṭṭikeraka (Vide Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IX, p. 282). Paṭṭikerā was the capital of the kingdom of that name mentioned in Burmese Chronicals as Pattikkara or Pateikkara and which may be traced as far back as the eleventh century A.D. The manuscript of Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā copied in 1015 A.D., contains the picture of the sixteen-armed Buddhist Goddess Cuṇḍā with the label "Paṭṭikere Cuṇḍāvarabhavane Cuṇḍā". A parganā of Tippera district which extends to Mainamati hills is still known as Pāṭikārā or Paitkāra. This helps us to look for Paṭṭikerā of the copper-plate mentioned before in this Parganā. Of particular interest is the evidence furnished by an inscription of the Seventh century A.D., referring to a royal palace or residence at Karmānta, the modern Baḍ Kāmtā, 12 miles west of Comilla and 6 miles west of Mainamati in Tippera district. Later records such as the Bāghāurā inscription of the time of the Pāla king Mahīpāla (eleventh century A.D.) and the Mehar copper-plate of Dāmodaradeva (1234 A.D.) establish the connection of Samatāṭa with the modern Tippera district. In Samatāṭa was situated the principality or the kingdom of Paṭṭikerā, whose existence according to the archaeological discoveries at Mainamati can be traced as far back as the eighth century A.D. Coins similar to those found in Arakan bearing the legend Paṭikerya have also been found at Mainamati. The name Paṭikerya undoubtedly refers to the famous Paṭṭikeraka Vihāra of the Pāla period, which ranked in importance with such ancient Buddhist monasteries as of Odantapurī, Sāmnagara, Jagaddala, Somapura, Vikramaśilā, Nālandā, Traikūṭaka, Devīkota, Paṇḍita, Phullahari and Vikramapurī.

In the old Bengali Caryāpadas, whose subject matter centres round the mystical esoteric doctrines and Yogic theories and practices of the Buddhist Sahajayāna School and whose authors (22 authors of 47 Caryās out of a total of fifty), according to Prof. S. K. Chatterjee, belonged to a period roughly between 950 to 1200 A.D., we find a hierarchy of Siddha poets who figure in the Gopīchandra legends also. They are Matsyendranātha, Gorakhnātha, Jālandhari-pāda or Hādī-pā and Kānha-pā, the last mentioned poet is assignable to the end of the twelfth century A.D. Kānha-pā's Guru or preceptor was Jālandhari-pāda or Hādī-pā, who was himself a disciple of Gorakhnātha, a great śaivite Yogī and Siddha. Queen

Maināmatī was Gorakh-nātha's disciple, while Hādī-pā figures in the legend-cycle of her son Gopīcandra. This legend-cycle speaks of Gopīcandra's unwilling renunciation, while young, of his kingdom and his wives, Adunā and Padunā, at the request of his mother Maināmatī, who by dint of her Yogic powers had come to know that he could not otherwise be saved from premature death, and also how he left his home as a disciple of Hādī-pā, a preceptor of low caste, who is no other than Gorakh-nātha's disciple referred to in the Caryāpadas. Queen Mavanāmatī (Madanāvatī); was the wife of king Māṇikcandra of the Candra dynasty that ruled in Eastern Bengal in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. Many ballads are popularly sung in Bengal in which this queen and her son Gopīcandra figure. Some of these ballads are collected in Gopīcandrergāna, Vols. I and II (published by the Calcutta University), Gopīcandr-Śanyāsa, edited by Abdul Sukkur Muhammad, and Mīnacetana edited by N. K. Bhattasali. According to the Tibetan historian Tārānātha Gopīcandra was a ruler of Mṛkula (now known as Meharkula in Tippera district). Like the principality of Paṭṭikerā there was another kingdom, for instance, that of the Candras, around modern Comilla between Circa 900 and 1050 A.D. The existence of the kings of the Candra dynasty in the Comilla region is known from numerous inscriptions (Vide History of Bengal edited by R. C. Mazumdar, Vol. 1. pp. 192-97). King Suvarṇa-Candra of this dynasty is said to have become a follower of Buddha, and his successors were also Buddhists. During the reign of the kings of the Varman dynasty the study of the works of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism seems to have been prevalent in the Southern portion of Central Bengal. On the 29th day of the month of Āṣāḍha during the 39th regnal year of king Harivarmadeva the writing of the manuscript of the commentary known as Vimala-prabhā of a well-known work of Mahāyāna Buddhism called Laghukālacakra was finished somewhere on the banks of the river Veṅga probably in Central Bengal. (Pūrvottaradiśābhāge Veṅganadyāstathā kule). The region around the present Mainamati and Lalmai hills thus witnessed the glory of the Kings of the Candra dynasty of Rohitāgiri and of the Kings of the Paṭṭikerā principality from about the eighth to the thirteenth centuries A.D. According to T. N. Ramachandran (Vide T. N. Ramachandran's article "Recent Archaeological Discoveries Along The Mainamati And Lalmai Ranges, Tippera District, East Bengal in B.C. Law Volume, Part II, pp. 213-31) Rohitāgiri, the capital of the Candra Kings, was perhaps near modern Comilla and included modern Lalmai hills.

The manuscript of a work of Mahāyāna Buddhism named "Pañcarakṣā" written at the cost of queen Uddākā in the fourteenth regnal year of Nayapāla, the Pāla emperor of Bengal has in it the following Colophon:—"Deyadharmoyam pravaramahāyānayāyinyā Paramopāsikārājñī Uddākāyā Yadatrapuṇyanta-dbhavatvācāryyopādhyāyamātā pitṛpūrvvaṅgamam Kṛtvā sakala sattvarāśeranuttarajñānāvāptaya iti II Paramasaugata-mahārājā-dhirājaparameśvaraśrīman-Nayapāladeva pravarddhamāna—vijayarājye samvat 14 Caitradine 27 likhiteyam bhaṭṭārikā iti I" (Bendall's Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, p. 175). During the reign of the Pāla emperor Nayapāla Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, an inhabitant of Vikramapura, was appointed Saṅgha-sthavira of the great vihāra at Nālandā. At the request of the then king of Tibet Śrījñāna went there. (Vide Indian Pandits in the land of Snow by Sarat Chandra Das, pp. 51-71; Vāṅgālār Itihāsa by R. D. Banerji, Part I, Second Edition, pp. 262-63). Buddhism survived as a subsidiary religion during the reign of kings of the Sena dynasty in Bengal, who were staunchly Brahmanical Hindus. Buddhism was thus dethroned from its high position as the religion of the ruling house which it had enjoyed under the Pāla emperors in Bengal. But it continued to flourish even for some centuries after the Turki conquest of Bengal. In the middle of the 13th century A.D., a Brāhmaṇa of northern Bengal named Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī declared his formal adherence to Buddhism and he manifested in his Bhakti-śataka śloka, in Sanskrit, an intense personal devotion to Buddha which was a Buddhist counterpart of the Bhakti movement which characterised the later Vaiṣṇava and other theistic schools centering round the figures of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. But Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī found his own society uncongenial and he went to Ceylon and settled there. Even as late as the thirties of the 15th century A.D., Buddhist texts like the Bodhicaryāvatāra continued to be written in Bengal, and we read about Buddhists during the life-time of Śrī Caitanya. (S. K. Chatterjee, op. cit., p. 83). After the conquest of northern and western Bengal by the Turko-Afghans, kings of the Sena dynasty continued to rule for some time over some places in eastern, Central and Southern Bengal. Even during this period of the decline of Sena power in Bengal, the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism seems to have existed in Bengal. This is evident from the colophon of a manuscript of a well-known work of Mahāyāna Buddhism named Pañcarakṣā. The colophon in question reads thus:—"Parameśvara - paramasaugata - paramamahārājā-dhirāja — Śrīmad Gaudeśvara-Madhusena-devapādānām-Vijayarājye". 1211 Śakābda

(i.e. 1289 A.D.) was the year when this manuscript was written. A manuscript of *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, as stated before, was written in 1492 Saṁvat (i.e. 1436 A.D.). Even Brahmanical Hindus would study the works written by Buddhist writers. Thus Sarvānanda a devoted votary of Viṣṇu, quoted in his own work *Ṭikāsarvasva* examples from *Buddhacarita* and *Sundarānandacarita* (or *Saundarānanda*), the two well-known poetical works written by the great Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa.

During the reign of the emperors of the imperial Gupta dynasty in Bengal the Brahmanical Hindus were generally votaries of the images of either Viṣṇu or Śiva. The images of the various incarnations (*Avatāras*) of Viṣṇu and the phallic emblems of the god Śiva were also worshipped by the people of that age. The images of the deity Śiva were generally of two classes. Thus there were some images in which we find Śiva alone. There were some other images in which we find Umā and Maheśvara together. In other words, there were some images in which we find the deity Śiva in the form of what may be called a half-man and half-woman (*Ardha-nāiśvara*). The worship of the images of the Sun-god and of Devī (*Caṇḍī*) was also not unknown. As stated before, numerous male and female deities, some of whom are of terrible appearance, were worshipped in Bengal and in Eastern India by the followers of the Tāntric Mahāyāna Buddhism. Towards the end of the Pāla period some of these Tāntric Mahāyāna deities gradually entered and found place in the popular Hindu pantheon. The worship of the images of female deities like Tārā, Cāmuṇḍā, Bāsalī and of the images of male deities like Bhairava, Kṣetrapāla, Gaṇeśa, etc., thus became current in Hindu society in Bengal and elsewhere. It may also be noted in this connection that the worship of certain deities seems to have been introduced by members of certain castes or followers of certain professions. The mercantile community (*Vaṇika-sampradāya*) seems in all probability to have introduced the worship of the deity Gaṇeśa. An image of the god Vināyaka made during the reign of the Pāla emperor Mahīpāla has lately been found in the district of Tippera. The founder of this image is said to have been a merchant or trader (*Vaṇika*) named Buddhāmītra. Brāhmaṇism in Bengal thus seems to have been greatly influenced by the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism. Thus the Mahāyāna deity Avalokiteśvara was gradually transformed in Bengal into Lokanātha who in his turn came to be regarded in Hindu Society in Bengal as being a notable form of the god Viṣṇu. Just as adoration of the god Vāsudeva or Kṛṣṇa gave rise in Northern India to the popular Bhāgavata cult with its emphasis on bhakti or intense

religious devotion, so the worship of Lokanātha produced among people in Bengal a sort of popular bhakti movement or a kind of devotional mental attitude which culminated later on in the time of Śrī Caitanya to a colossal popular bhakti movement.

Some Brahmanical images have been discovered as a result of archaeological excavation around Mainamati. The best known Hindu image found in this area is an image of Sūrya of black chlorite, revealing Pāla workmanship (Pl. IV). In the background stands Sūrya erect holding symmetrically a lotus in each hand, while flying Vidyādhara couples hovering above, parasol, juxtaposed right in the centre over his head, eleven Sūryas (out of the twelve Ādityas) and Gaṇeśa flanking him, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala standing one on each side, an attendant-woman (Cāmaradhārīṇī) on either side, his consort, Chāyādevī, in front of his legs, Aruṇa in front driving a rotanda of seven horses and Uṣas and Sandhyā symmetrically poised below at the extreme ends as bow-women. Other Brahmanical Hindu images of similar date found at Varella, three miles north of Mainamati represent Vāsudeva, Haragaurī, Jagaddhātṛī, Gaṇeśa and Viṣṇu. The material of these images is black chlorite and their workmanship is undoubtedly of the Pāla period. (See "Recent Archaeological Discoveries Along Mainamati and Lalmai Ranges, Tippera District, East Bengal by T. N. Ramachandran, in B. C. Law Volume, Part II, pp. 213-31). An interesting image of the goddess Vārāhī of blackish grey sandstone having the head of a Varāha or boar of best Pāla workmanship has been found at Dvāravāsīnī, a village in the district of Hooghly. The goddess Vārāhī may be regarded as being one of the numerous forms of the goddess Caṇḍī. This image is now kept in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University. Many images of the dancing type of Śiva have been found in the South-Eastern districts of Bengal, roughly comprising the ancient Vaṅga and Samatāṭa regions. The Naṭarāja conception of Śiva was thus known in ancient Bengal. A huge image of Naṭeśa-Śiva was thus dug out of a tank in a village called Bharella in the district of Tippera. This image has on it an inscription. The inscription refers itself to the 18th year of the reign of a king named Layaha-Candra. N. K. Bhattasali thinks that on palaeographical consideration this inscription should be assigned to the latter half of the 10th century A.D. The image of another Naṭeśa-Śiva was similarly found in Vikramapura in the district of Dacca. Vikramapura seems, according to N. K. Bhattasali, to have been the capital of the Candra, the Varman and the Sena kings of Eastern Bengal. The worship of the images of Naṭeśa-Śiva (the dancing Śiva) seems to have been a peculiarity of

southern India and Ceylon. Such images are rarely found in North Indian provinces. Such images are also rare in North and West Bengal. The discovery of many images of dancing Śiva in a limited area, namely, in the modern districts of Dacca and Tippera, shows according to N. K. Bhattasali, that the worship of dancing Śiva was in all probability introduced in South Eastern and Eastern Bengal by some Śaiva ruling family. The Sena kings of Bengal who were renowned Śaivas and who are generally thought to have come to Bengal from Southern India may, according to N. K. Bhattasali, therefore be said to have introduced in Bengal the worship of dancing Śiva though the image of Nāṭeśa Śiva found at Bharella in the district of Tippera seems to be of a somewhat earlier date. (See Some image Inscriptions from East Bengal edited by N. K. Bhattasali, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 349 ff).

An image of Nārāyaṇa was dug out of a pond in the village of Bāghāurā near the Sub-divisional town of Brahmanbaria in the district of Tippera. The standing image of Nārāyaṇa has on its pedestal an inscription. The inscription purports to be of the third year of King Mahīpāla, presumably Mahīpāla I of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal. It records the installation of the image of the god Nārāyaṇa in Samatāṭa, included in the kingdom of Mahīpāla, by a merchant, Lokadatta hailing from the village of Bilakīndaka. According to N. K. Bhattasali (*Vide Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 353 ff) Bilakīndaka is in all probability the village Bilakenduai, situated close to Bāghāurā. According to N. K. Bhattasali the kingdom of Samatāṭa mentioned in this inscription corresponded to the tract of country bound by the Garo and the Khasi hills and the hills of Tippera on the North and East, by the Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra on the West and by the Bay of Bengal on the South. It comprised the eastern half of the present Mymensingh and Dacca districts lying east of the Brahmaputra the greater part of Sylhet, and the whole of the Tippera and Noakhali districts. An image of the god Vināyaka bearing inscription dated in the fourth year of the reign of King Mahīpāla was found in the village of Nārāyaṇpur, about 15 miles to the north-east of the sub-divisional town of Chandpur in the district of Tippera. The image is about 3 feet in height and is in seated position. It is four-armed and wears bangles and a necklace and a crown. The image holds a radish in right upper hand, rosary in lower right hand, an axe in upper left hand and sweets in lower left hand. The elephant-headed god Vināyaka is tasting the sweets in his lower left hand with his trunk. He has lotus symbols on his feet and bears a sacred

thread to which, on the deity's body, a serpent is tied. There is the representation of a rat, the god's *vāhana*, on the pedestal. It is interesting to note that this description agrees fully with that of the Brahmanic deity *Vināyaka*, but not with that of the Mahāyānist Buddhist deity of that name. This sort of seated and four-armed *Vināyaka* is not uncommon in Bengal. It is interesting as D. C. Sarkar points out, (*Vide Indian Culture*, Vol. IX. No. 1, July-September, 1942) that the Nārāyaṇpur *Vināyaka* image does not answer to the description of the Buddhist deity of that name. The image bears an inscription which records the installation of this image by a merchant named *Buddhamitra*, son of *Jambhala*mitra. The merchant was an inhabitant of a locality, called *Bilikandhaka* in the country of *Samatāṭa* but the image of the god *Vināyaka* seems to have been installed at a place called *Bhasakāga*. It seems probable that *Bilikandhaka* of the Nārāyaṇpur record is identical with *Bilakīṇḍaka* of the Bāghāūrā image inscription. *Jambhala*mitra's son *Buddhamitra*, who installed the image of the god *Vināyaka* appears to have been a Brahmanical Hindu, although his own name and that of his father show Buddhistic influence. Indeed it appears that there was hardly any difference between a Brahmanical Hindu and a Buddhist householder in Bengal during the eleventh century A.D. The *Jātakas* and the *Avadānas* were not translated into the local language of Bengal. In that age the Buddhists in Bengal had practically no popular literature. The so-called Buddhist works like the later *Dharmamaṅgala* literature can hardly be marked out of the vast *Maṅgala-Kāvya* literature of the Brahmanical Hindus. The distinction between Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism seems during this period to have been exhibited only in the debates of philosophers of the two schools. But society in general seems to have been greatly influenced by the popular Brahmanical gods and literature. In fact, most of the gods and goddesses were common to both the Hindus and the Buddhists in Bengal during this period. It must be admitted as D. C. Sarkar argues, that from the view-point of society the lay Buddhists differed little from the Brahmanical householders even in the early period, though the difference in the religions of the two sects was marked. In the early medieval period, however, the religious distinction between the two sects gradually died out so far as the ordinary householders were concerned. The ideals of family life as we find them depicted in a verse of *Bhaktiśataka* written in the later part of the thirteenth century A.D. by a Bengalee Brāhmaṇa named *Rāmachandra Kavibhāratī*, who became a devout Buddhist of the Hīnayāna school, were essen-

tially the same which were also inculcated by canonical writers in Hindu society in Bengal during this period. The verse in question is given below:—

“Mātevāsīt parastrī bhavati paradhane na sprhā yasya
puṁso mithyāvādī na yaḥ syānna pivati madirāṁ prāṇino
yo na hanyāt I Maryādābhaṅgabhiruḥ sakaruṇaḥ dayastyak-
tasarvābhīmāno dharmātunā te sa eṣa prabhavati bhagavan
pādapūjāṁ vidhātum II.”

In other words, blessed is he who has no greed for other's wealth, who is not addicted to wine or women, who never kills any animal nor tells a lie, who thinks that women belonging to other men are in fact like his own mother, who has no conceit and no tendency to humiliate other persons in popular estimation and has in him a compassionate and generous heart for all men and women. The Pāla emperors were Buddhists but they claim in their records to have been defenders of the Varṇāśrama dharma in Hindu society (cf. verse 5 of the Monghyr copper-plate inscription of Devapāla.)

The policy of religious toleration followed by the emperors of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal may be recalled in this connection. Thus the Pāla emperor Dharmapāla is said to have granted villages for the benefit of a temple of the god Bhagavan Nanna-Nārāyaṇa (cf. Khālimpur copper-plate inscription). The name Nanna-Nārāyaṇa seems in all probability, as A. K. Maitreya (*vide* Gauḍa-Lekhamālā) points out, to have been derived from the name of the person who installed the image of the aforesaid deity or founded its temple. The Pāla emperor Madanpāla (cf. Manahali copper-plate inscription), who was himself a follower of Sugata (*i.e.* Buddha), is similarly said to have granted some land as fee to a Brāhmaṇa for his recitation and exposition of the text of the Mahābhārata written by Vedavyāsa at the instance of Madanapāla's chief queen Citramatikādevī. The ordinary Buddhist householders of this age in Bengal had, as D. C. Sarkar argues, seldom any touch with the writings of Buddhist philosophers. These were apparently some of the chief causes that led gradually to the absorption into Hindu society of the later Buddhists in Bengal. Hinduism in Bengal also gradually converted some prominent Buddhist deities into Brahmanical gods. Thus the Buddhist deity Lokanātha gradually came to be regarded in Hindu Society in Bengal as being a form of the god Viṣṇu. The following verse in honour of the god Lokanātha in the Mallasārul copper-plate inscription:—(“Jayati śrī) Lokanāthaḥ yaḥ puṁsāṁ sukṛtakarmaphalahetuḥ Satyatapomayamūrtilokadvayasādhano dharmmaḥ II” may justly be regarded as being

identical in spirit with the following statement of Heliodorus in the Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar inscription—"Tini amutapadāni ia suanuṭhitāni neyanti svagam dāma cāga apramāda". In the Susunia rock inscription of Candravarman (Vide Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 133), Mahārāja Candravarman, the son of the illustrious Mahārāja Simhavarman, the lord of Puṣkaraṇa is described as the chief of the slaves of the wielder of the discus (Cakrasvāmin, or Viṣṇu). An obscure deity named Kokāmukhasvāmin is mentioned in a Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of Budhagupta. R. G. Basak (vide Ep. Ind., Vol. XV., pp. 138 ff), who originally edited the inscription in question, referred in this connection to Kokāmukhā, a form of the Goddess Durgā, and to the Kokāmukha tīrtha, both mentioned in the Mahābhārata. He did not, however, suggest any satisfactory identification of the god Kokāmukhasvāmin. D. C. Sarkar (vide D. C. Sarkar's Select Inscriptions, pp. 328 ff) concluded that Kokāmukha is a form of Śiva. This theory is based on the supposed connection of the name "Ādya Kokāmukhasvamin", as we find in the Dāmodarpur inscription, with the appellations Ādyā and Kokāmukhā used in reference to Durgā, the consort of Śiva and on the term nāma-liṅga which, according to D. C. Sarkar, occurs in this inscription in the sense of "a Linga established after some one's name". According to Prof. H. C. Roy Chowdhury (Vide H. C. Roy Chowdhury's article "Kokāmukhasvāmin" in B. C. Law volume, Part I, pp. 88-91) fresh light regarding the identification not only of Kokāmukhasvāmin but also of "Himavacchikhara", where apparently Kokāmukhasvāmi's temple was situated, is thrown by chapters 219 and 229 of the Brahma Purāṇa. The evidence furnished by the aforesaid sections of the Brahma Purāṇa proves, according to H. C. Roy Choudhuri, beyond doubt that like 'śvetavarāhasvāmin, with whom the god Kokāmukhasvāmin is associated in the Dāmodarpur inscription, Kokāmukha is a form of the Varāha (Boar) incarnation of Viṣṇu and that the Kokāmukha tīrtha was in the Himalayan region on the northern border of Bengal.

The Dāmodarpur copper-plate inscription in question is therefore of great importance for the study of the religious history of ancient Bengal. In the first place, it points to the prevalence in ancient Bengal during the Gupta age of the cult of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu. Secondly, it demonstrates the existence, even during the Gupta age, of a belief in different varieties (śvetavarāha and Kokāmukha) of the Varāha form of Viṣṇu. It is evident that as early as the fifth century A.D. not only were Avatāras of Viṣṇu worshipped in Hindu society in Bengal, but the conception of different variations of the same avatāra had also developed. The cult of

the boar may have been as Prof. H. C. Roy Chaudhuri thinks, *like that of the divine apes, snake gods and goddesses, etc., of folk or popular origin, later engrafted on Vaiṣṇavism and other important creeds.* Gopinātha Rao (Vide Elements of Hindu Iconography, Vol. I, Pt 1, pp. 132 ff) notices three different conceptional types of the Varāha Avatāra, namely, (I) Bhūvarāha, Ādivarāha or Nṛvarāha, (II) Yajñavarāha and (III) Pralayavarāha. The relation of these types with Śvetavarāha and Kokānukha cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. The Eran inscription of Toramāna (Vide Fleet's Corpus, Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, pp. 159) refers to the Boar form of Viṣṇu. The votaries of the cult of Viṣṇu and his avatāras were known as Bhāgavatas, —a sectarian designation known to Indian epigraphy from the time of the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros to the age of the Guptas and their successors. A suggestion has been offered in recent times that Bhāgavatism was completely different from the Pāñcarātra cult in the Gupta period, and that while the former was specially associated with the avatāravāda, the latter stood for the Vyūhavāda. But, as Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri argues, the existence of the Pāñcarātras as a sect distinct from the Bhāgavatas in the Gupta age is extremely doubtful. The epithet Pāñcarātra is not found prefixed to the name of any personage of importance in Gupta inscriptions or coin-legends. The Harṣacarita, a post-Gupta work, no doubt, makes separate mention of the Bhāgavatas and the Pāñcarātras. But the commentator regards both these sects as Viṣṇuites and he never suggests that the line of demarcation between these two sects was very wide. The Pāñcarātra vidhāna also co-templates the worship of the Vyūhas as well as the avatāras including Mahāvarāha (Chaps. 48-49) (Vide H. C. Raychaudhuri's Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect, Second edition, p. 176).

The worship of the image of Rāma or of Rāma and his consort Sītā seems also to have been not unknown in ancient Bengal. The poet Dhoyī tells us in his Pavanadūta (Verse 30) that there was in his time in Bengal an image of the god 'Raghukulaguru' (i.e. Rāma) on the banks of the river Svarṇadī or the Bhāgīrathī (i.e. the Ganges). The Gītagovinda of Jayadeva which was composed for being sung by bards and minstrels shows that the story of the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa was not unknown among the common people in Hindu society in Bengal during the age of Lakṣmaṇasena, the well-known king of the Sena dynasty of Bengal. According to the Pavanadūta (Verse 28) Murāri, the consort of the goddess Kamalā (i.e. Lakṣmī) was the family-deity or the tutelary deity of the kings of Sena dynasty of Bengal. In the shrines of the god

Murāri (i.e. Viṣṇu) in the Suhma country there were, according to the poet Dhoyī, many charming 'devadāsīs' (Vārarāmāḥ) who seemed to be like the goddess Lakṣmī. The devadāsīs were the beautiful singing and dancing girls who were usually employed for the entertainment of male Hindu deities like Viṣṇu and Śiva in many Hindu temples in ancient Bengal. They formed a sort of musical choir in a temple as we find in a modern Christian church. Thus the Bhuvaneśvara inscription (Verse 30) of Bhaṭṭa-Bhavadeva tells us that Bhavadeva provided for the temple of the god Harimedhas (i.e. Viṣṇu) one hundred damsels who had eyes like those of a young deer and who created the delusion that they were celestial nymphs taking rest on this earth. These maidens are described as being the meeting-places of music, dalliance and beauty. The Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena also informs us that the temple of the god Pradyumneśvara was similarly provided with one hundred beautiful maidens the charms of whose bodies were enhanced by their jewellery (Cf. "Ratnā-laukṛtibhīrvīṣeṣitavapuḥ śobhāḥ śataṁ subhruvaḥ").

In the Khālimpur copper-plate inscription (Line 32) mention is made of a small temple of the goddess Kādambarī (Kādambarī-devakulikā) on the northern border of the village of Krauñcaśvabhra in the Mahantāprakāśaviṣaya of the Vvāghrataṭīmaṇḍala of the bhukti (province) of Puṇḍravarddhana. According to A. K. Maitreya (Vide Gauḍa-Lekhamālā, p. 25, f.n. 3) the god Balarāma is also called Kadambara. Hence Kādambarī may denote the wife of Balarāma. The goddess Sarasvatī is also known as Kādambarī. A. K. Maitreya thinks that Kādambarī-devakulikā probably denotes a temple of the goddess Sarasvatī. •The worship of the goddess Sarasvatī and the goddess Lakṣmī was thus not unknown in ancient Bengal. A verse of Sandhyākara Nandī's Rāmacarita (Chap. 3. Verse 4) shows according to Prof. R. G. Basak, that there were in Varendrī (i.e. in northern Bengal) at that age temples in which there were images of the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Āditya, Vināyaka (i.e. Gaṇeśa or Buddha), Kārtikeya, etc. (Cf. "Skandena tena savināyakena militaiḥ prakāśarūpaistaiḥ I Rudrairekādaśabhīr Vasubhīrvitatāspadairviśvaiḥ II"—Vide Rāmacarita, Bengali edition, edited by Radhagovinda Basak, p. 74). In the Tippera copper-plate inscription of Lokanātha (Line 22) there is reference to an image of Ananta-Nārāyaṇa. This shows that the cult of Ananta-Nārāyaṇa was in vogue among some Vaiṣṇavas or worshippers of the god Viṣṇu in Bengal towards the middle of the seventh century A.D., the probable date, according to Prof. R. G. Basak, of the Tippera copper-plate inscription of Lokanātha (Vide Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XV, p. 301). An image of Viṣṇu having a

short inscription incised on its pedestal was found in the village of Keoār, some three miles to the south-east of Rāmpāl, the famous site of the ancient capital of the kings of the Sena dynasty of Bengal, in the Munshiganj 'sub-division of the Dacca district. The Inscription in question records the installation of this image of the god Viṣṇu by a man named Vaṅgoka, great grandson of Śauriśarman, grandson of Pitāmaha and son of the couple Sayoga and Anuyamī. This inscription is not dated and does not mention in it the name of the reigning king. Palaeographic consideration does not allow an earlier date for this inscription than the early part of the 13th century A.D. The absence of the name of a king in this inscription shows, according to Prof. N. K. Bhattasali, that there was no king at the time when this image was installed. The Brāhmaṇa family to which Vaṅgoka belonged is spoken of as hailing from Varendrī (i.e. northern Bengal). They must have migrated to the Vaṅga country (i.e. eastern Bengal) from Varendra (i.e. northern Bengal). The period at the end of the 12th century A.D., as N. K. Bhattasali remarks, which necessitated the migration of Vārendra Brāhmaṇas from north to east Bengal must have been the time when Lakṣmaṇasena was worsted by Muhammad-Bin-Bhaktiyar in or about 1200 A.D. and the old king Lakṣmaṇasena and his court were thus compelled to fly to Vikramapura in eastern Bengal. Muhammad established his court at Deb-kot, 14 miles south of Dinājpur, in the heart of Varendrī and hence orthodox Brāhmaṇas living then in northern Bengal must have had a very hot time, necessitating their flight to the Vaṅga country where the Sena kings still held sway.

An inscribed image of the goddess Caṇḍī was found in Dacca (Vide R. D. Banerjee's *Bāṅgālār Itihāsa*, Part I, second edition, Plate 28). The inscription on the image refers itself to the third year of the era of king Lakṣmaṇasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal. This era has been proved to have begun in 1119 A.D. (Vide *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, p. I). This inscription, therefore seems to have been inscribed in the year 1121 A.D. It records that *adhikṛta* (i.e. superintendent) Dāmodara, son of Māladatta began this image in the third year of the era of Lakṣmaṇasena and that his relative Nārāyaṇa installed the image in the fourth year. An image of the goddess Sarvvāṇī, a form of Durgā, was found in the village of Dhulbāri, about 14 miles to the south of Comilla. This image was the pious work of Prabhāvatī, the queen of Deva Khadga (Vide "Some Image Inscriptions from East Bengal" edited by N. K. Bhattasali in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 349 ff.). The Deopārā inscription (Verse 2) of Vijayasena refers, according to Prof. N. G. Majumdar (Vide *Inscriptions of Bengal*

edited by N. G. Majumdar, Vol. III, p. 50, F.N. 6), probably to the original image in the temple of Pradyumneśvara in which Hari and Hara were attended by their wives Lakṣmī and Pārvatī. The conception of the dancing Śiva with the dead body of his beloved consort Durgā seems to have been known in ancient Bengal as we may infer from the following line written by the poet Dhoyī in his Pavanadūta (Cf. "Yāvacchambhurvahati girijā-saṁvibhaktaṁ śarīram" Verse 103). The cult of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa seems also to have been prevalent in ancient Bengal. The story of the amorous sport of the god Kṛṣṇa with the milkmaids headed by Rādhā at Vṛndāvana seems to have been widely known among the people in ancient Bengal. The poet Dhoyī accordingly prays that his work Pavandūta may endure as long as the Kadamba tree lives on this earth as the witness of the amorous sport of the god Kṛṣṇa with the young milkmaids at Vṛndāvana (Cf. "Yāvadrādhāramaṇataruṇīkelisākṣī Kadamba stāvajjīyāt kavinarapateresa vācāṁ vilāsaḥ II"—Verse 103). Numerous images made of stone or metal of Buddhist and Brahmanical Hindu deities have been found as a result of excavation of some of the ancient sites of Bengal like Pāhārpur, Bāṅgarh, Mahāsthān and Mainamati. Some of these images are considered to have been made during the reign of the Pāla emperors and some of these images are thought to have been made during the reign of the kings of the Sena dynasty in Bengal. It may be noted in this connection that all of these images were not, however, meant for being worshipped by the people. Most of these images may be said to have been made for the decoration of temples and palaces. This is evident from a verse written by Govardhana Ācārya (Cf. "Pūjā vinā pratiṣṭhāṁ nāsti na mantram vinā pratiṣṭhā ca I Tadubhaya-vipratipannaṁ paśyatu gīvāṇapāṣāṇam II".—Vide Sukumar Sen's Prācīna Bāṅgalā O Bāṅgālī, p. 32. Govardhana Ācārya's Āryā-saptaśatī edited by Soma Nath Mookerjee, Dacca, Samvat 1921, Verse 440).

Among the divine figures illustrated in the plaques at Pāhārpur, Brahmanical and Buddhist gods are equally found, so that there is no reason to suppose that any of them were specially intended to be objects of worship. Among the Brahmanical figures, the most numerous representations in terracotta are those of the god Śiva who is also portrayed at Pāhārpur by more bas-reliefs than any other individual deity. All these varieties of the representation of the god Śiva are, however, different from the common type of stone image of Śiva popular in the late Pāla period, namely, the Hara-Gaurī image, of which only a single metal specimen has been found at Pāhārpur during the excavation

of the monastery. In the main temple at Pāhārpur the principal varieties of the representations of Śiva may be classified as (1) images showing Śiva as a naked ascetic, (2) clad images and (3) representations of Śiva in the form of a liṅga. To the first variety belong most of the standing stone reliefs in which the god Śiva is shown as (1) holding a trident or triśūla in hand and a snake over the shoulders (Plate XXXI a), (2) with a bull by his side (Plate XXXI b), (3) holding a rosary and kamaṇḍalu (Plate XXXI d), and (4) holding an umbrella of peacock feathers (Plate XXXI c). Among the clad images, besides the stone reliefs, characterised by the moon on the forehead, or holding a blue lotus in hand, we find in terracotta at Pāhārpur two other varieties, one in which the god is shown as standing with a spear in left hand and garland of skulls over the shoulders (Plate XLI d-2) and the other consisting of a multi-headed form of the god with ten hands bearing different weapons (Plate XLIV a). The former, with its gaping mouth and spear, may possibly be a representation of Bhairava, but the latter is certainly Śiva as Pañcānana (five-faced) although only three of the heads are apparent. Among the representations of the Śiva-Liṅga, at least two varieties can be distinctly made out among the plaques, one in which the Liṅga is represented as a single cylindrical object standing on a rectangular pedestal (pīṭha) with the surface decorated with a garland of flowers and banners flying by the sides (Plate XXXIX f-1) and another which corresponds to the four-faced (caturmukha) Liṅga, three of his faces being shown in the plaque on the top of the cylindrical shaft standing on a broad circular pedestal (Plate LVI c).

Other Brahmanical gods represented in the plaques found at Pāhārpur are Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and probably also Sūrya. Viṣṇu is absent from sculptural representations at Pāhārpur but is found in one plaque as a seated figure holding śaṅkha (conch-shell), cakṛa (discus), gadā (mace) and padma (lotus) respectively in his four arms. On the other hand, a number of plaques testify to the popularity of the Kṛṣṇa legend which is so well represented in the earlier stone reliefs. The popularity of the Rāmāyaṇa stories is attested by the occurrence of the figure of the garlanded monkey which must be taken to represent Sugrīva as in the stone relief. The Buddhist deities illustrated in the terracotta plaques found at Pāhārpur belong to the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism. More frequent than the figures of Buddha which we find at Pāhārpur are the figures of the Bodhisattvas who occupy a prominent place in the Mahāyāna pantheon. Among the female divinities of the Maāyāna pantheon which are found at Pāhārpur, Tārā is

the most popular and the only divinity whose forms can be identified among the plaques (Plate XLIV c). The eight-handed form of the goddess Tārā seems to have been popular in the Pāhārpur monastery. Of the antiquities found in the eastern monastery, with the exception of a standing bronze image of Buddha in abhaya-mudrā (Plate LVIII b) and seated Kuvera (or Jambhala) (Plate LVIII c) and a stone image of Revanta, the god of hunting, the rest are all of a secular character. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang in his account of his visit to the Puṇḍravardhana country states that he found that the largest number of monks here belonged to the Jaina Nirgrantha persuasion, while he noticed about one hundred Brahmanical temples and only 20 Buddhist monasteries. The religious atmosphere at this period was apparently one of perfect tolerance, although it is clear that the Brahmanical and the Jaina faiths were more prevalent among the inhabitants of North Bengal than the religion of Gautama Buddha. Puṇḍravardhana is said to have been one of the seats of Jaina pontiffs and there must have been a Jaina monastery of repute near the present site of Pāhārpur (Vide Excavations at Pāhārpur, Bengal, by K. N. Dikshit, Chap. 5, pp. 58 to 62 and 3 to 4).

Sir Alexander Cunningham discovered on the southern side of the well-known Mahābodhi temple at Bodh Gayā in 1879 A.D. a large slab of stone having on it an inscription on the left side and figures of three images in three separate compartments on the right side. Prof. Nilmoni Chakravarti (Vide Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. IV, pp. 101-102) suggested that the figure in the central compartment is probably that of Bhairava while the figure in the extreme left is that of Viṣṇu and the figure on the right side is that of Sūrya or Sun-god. The inscription found on this slab records that in the 26th regnal year of the Pāla emperor Dharmapāla (Line 7) Keśava, son of the stone-mason Ujjvala, set up an image of the four-faced Mahādeva (Line 3) at Bodh Gayā. A. K. Maitreya (Vide Gauda-Lekhamālā, p. 31), thinks that the image in question was probably a liṅga image or an image of the nature of a phallus. A. K. Maitreya also points out that phallic emblems of the god Śiva having four faces are found in Varendra-maṇḍala or in Northern Bengal. Śiva is generally conceived as having five faces. It is not known how and when four-faced images of the god Śiva were first introduced and how and when they disappeared is also not known. Reference to a temple of the god Kārttikeya in ancient Puṇḍravardhana (i.e. in Northern Bengal) is found in a passage in Kalhana's Rājatarāṅginī. Prince Jayanta of Kāshmir is here

described as being highly pleased because he found that the vocal and instrumental music and dances displayed to him in this temple of the god Kārttikeya in northern Bengal evidently by accomplished courtesans employed there as 'devadāsīs were strictly in accordance with the principles of Hindu music laid down in Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra (Vide Nihar Ranjan Roy's Prācīna Bāṅglār Dainandina Jīvana, p. 12). There is reference in a verse in Śrīdharadāsa's Saduktikarṇāmṛta (Vide Saduktikarṇāmṛta edited by Paṇḍita Rāmāvatāra Śarmā, Lahore, 1933, Book 5, p. 278) to the worship by the villagers of a village of the goddess Kāntāra-Durgā, evidently a sylvan female deity. We find reference in this verse to the worship by the villagers of the same village of the male folk deity, Kṣetrapāla, by making offers to him of the blood of animals sacrificed by the same villagers who are described evidently as observing some popular folk rite (Cf. Taistairjīvopahārairgirikuharaśīlāsamśrayāmarcayitvā devīm Kāntāra-durgām rudhiramupataru Kṣetrapālāya dattvā I Tumbīvināvinoda Vya-vahṛtsarakāmahni jīrṇe purāṇīm hālām mālurakoṣairyuvisahacarā barbarāḥ śīlayanti II).

The illiterate agricultural and pastoral people living in the interior of villages in ancient Bengal thus seem to have worshipped many non-Vedic and non-Purāṇic folk deities like Kṣetrapāla and Kāntāra-Durgā. They seem to have worshipped in their own bacchanalian and barbarian ways such folk deities by drinking wine and by sacrificing animals like goats, lambs, etc. and presumably by making together with their young women display of their own vocal and instrumental music and dancing. Towards the close of the twelfth century A.D. many old popular religious festivals seem to have disappeared from among the people in Bengal. One of these popular religious festivals was known as Śakradhvajotthāna. The rich mercantile community in Bengal would formerly raise the standard called Śakradhvaja. The poet Govardhana Ācārya accordingly mourns for the disappearance of the worship of the standard of Śakra by the people during his days. The verse (verse 323) is found in Govardhana Ācārya's Āryyā-Saptaśatī (Cf. "Te śreṣṭhinaḥ kva samprati

Śakradhvaja yaiḥ kṛtastavocchrāyaḥ I

Īśāṁvā meṭhimvā

Adhunātanāstvaṁ vidhīyanti II". The poet Govardhana Ācārya thus laments for the loss of enthusiasm among the merchants and traders of Bengal in his days for raising up the standard of Śakra. The Śakradhvaja or the standard of the god Śakra, as Govardhana Ācārya notes (Vide Govardhana Ācārya's Āryyā-Saptaśatī edited by Soma Nath Mookerjee, Dacca, Samvat

1921, p. 65), was then used by the people either as a stick in a plough or as a post for binding with a rope household cows. This shows that the Vedic god Śakra or Indra had by this time lost his former hold over the popular mind and hence common people in Hindu society in Bengal no longer cared for the worship of the god Śakra. There was in consequence no enthusiasm among the members of the rich mercantile community to raise the standard of Śakra or Indra.

The poet Govardhana Ācārya also notes in his Āryyā-Saptaśatī (Verse. 316) that simple men and women living in the interior of the villages of Bengal would worship many imaginary folk deities. Thus the banyan tree was thought to be the abode of the god Kuvera (i.e. the god of wealth) or Lakṣmī, the goddess of fortune (Cf. "Tvayi kuṣṭhāmaṭṭadruma.

Vaiśravaṇo vasatu vasatu vā Lakṣmīḥ I

Pāmarakuṭhārapātāt

Kātaraśīrasaiva te rakṣā II"). The worship of the well-known folk deity called Dharma-Ṭhākura seems to have been prevalent among the common people more especially in the villages in Western Bengal from good old days. Several vedic and Purāṇic, Aryan and Non-Aryan deities were combined together to form the later popular deity called Dharma. The later folk deity named Pañcānana also known as Pañcānanda and Pāncu Ṭhākura, the guardian deity of children, is even now very popular among the womenfolk of Western Bengal, especially of the lower class, who worship this deity for the protection and welfare of their young sons and daughters. In the manuscript of a Tāntric work called the Br̥hadrudrayāmala, which is now in the Asiatic society of Bengal, there are sections which deal exclusively with this cult. This Sanskrit work may not be very old. But it has immense anthropological interest because it has in it a comparatively detailed account of a later popular folk deity (Vide Chintaharan Chakrabarti's article—A Tantra Work on The Cult of Pañcānana in the D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, 1940, pp. 77 to 81).

The goddess Ṣaṣṭhī is another later popular folk deity, who is being worshipped from good old days by mothers in Hindu society in Bengal as the guardian deity concerned with the welfare of sons and daughters. The god Ghaṇṭākarna or Ghenṭu, the presiding deity of itches is another folk deity, probably introduced at a later age. This deity is even now worshipped by mothers in Hindu society in Bengal for safeguarding their own sons and daughters from the fear of skin diseases like itches. The popular goddess Śītalā, the presiding deity of small-pox and the popular deity Manasā, the deity saving men and women from the danger

of snake-bite, seem similarly to have been introduced as folk deities later on in Hindu society in Bengal. The Śaiva Nātha cult may also be said to be not entirely unconnected with the later Dharma cult which developed gradually. The ceremony of Rathayātrā was originally connected with Dharma. The monkey cult was originally associated with the Sun worship. In the cult of Dharma, Hanumān is his factotum. The conception of Dharma as the mendicant deity later developed into Satyanārāyaṇa or Satyapīr. Minor deities of Bengal such as Bāsālī, Jāngulī (i.e. Manasā), various Kṣetrapālas, Dākinīs and Sākinīs gradually gathered round Dharma as his courtiers and thus obtained general recognition and worship. Dharma is usually worshipped by offering flesh of animals like goat, duck or pig and cakes made of rice. According to the Caitanya Bhāgavata written by Vṛndāvanadāsa, this form of worship seems to have been widely known specially among the lower classes in Western Bengal during the later part of the 15th century A.D. (Vide Sukumar Sen's article "Is The Cult of Dharma A Living Relic of Buddhism In Bengal?" in B. C. Law Volume, Part I, pp. 669-74).

The Kamauli copper-plate inscription of Vaidyadeva gives in a nutshell the ideals of conduct which were followed by the best Brāhmaṇas of the age. Śrīdhara is described (Verse 26) as being a Brāhmaṇa of exemplary conduct because he had all the good qualities which were considered as being ideals for an orthodox Brāhmaṇa in Bengal at that time. Thus Śrīdhara is described as having made pilgrimage to various sacred places. He was a great Vedic scholar and a great teacher of sacred scriptures as well. He was noted for his munificence and charity. He used to perform regularly Vedic rites and rituals. Besides these he is said to have observed various religious vratas or auspicious folk rites (Cf. "Tīrtheṣu bhramaṇāt śrutādhyāyanato dānāttathādhyāpanād yajñānām karaṇād vrataikacaraṇāt saivvottaraḥ śrotriyah 1"). In order to please the god Soṃanātha (i.e. Śiva) the Brāhmaṇa Śrīdhara is said to have left no stone unturned and is said to have practiced in this iron age severe austerities like prātaḥ, nakta, ayācita and upavasana (Cf. A. K. Maitreya's Gauda-Lekhamālā, p. 145). In the Ghoṣhrāwā inscription the Brāhmaṇa Vīradeva who was a contemporary of the Pāla emperor Devapāla, is similarly said to have been noted for his knowledge of the Vedas and other sacred scriptures of the Hindus, for his proficiency in the sacred literature of the Buddhists, for the purity and integrity of his character and for his wonderful devotion as a Buddhist ascetic to the cause of Buddhism and above all for his catholic spirit of sacrifice and helping attitude towards all persons seeking help and

succour. The Monghyr copper-plate inscription of Devapāla (Verse 12) shows that purity of mind and chastity of body and self-restraint in the matter of speech and other kinds of bodily actions were deemed as being ideals of conduct in the Brahmanical Hindu and Buddhist society of that age (Cf. *Nirmalo manasi vāci saṁyataḥ Kāya-karmanāṇi ca vaḥ sthitaḥ śuci*).

The Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena tells us (Verse 9) that Sāmantasena, an ancestor of Vijayasena spent, as stated before, his last days in the sacred hermitages situated in forests on the banks of the Ganges, which were full of renowned ascetics fighting against the danger of rebirth (Cf. *Yenāsevyanta Śeṣe vayasī bhava-bhayāskandibhirnmaskarīndraiḥ pūrṇotsaṅgāni Gaṅgāpulino-parisarāraṇyapūṇyāśramāni* 11). Persons in Hindu society in ancient Bengal thus seem to have given up worldly pleasures and to have led a retired spiritual life like that of a recluse in old age. There is a verse in the *Seka-Śubhodayā* (Chap. 11, p. 61), which shows that the Pāla emperor Rāmapāla drowned himself to death in the holy waters of the river Ganges in his old age. Rāmapāla is said to have distributed wealth among Brāhmaṇas before his retirement from this world. He starved himself by refusing to take any food or drink and gave himself up before his departure from this world entirely to the meditation of the god Viṣṇu (Cf. “*Jāhnavyām jalamadhyatastvanaśanairdhyātvā padam Cakriṇaḥ, Kṣmāpālānvayamaulimaṇḍanamaniḥ Śrīrāmapalo mṛtaḥ* II”). The poet Dhyoī also expresses in the concluding verse (Verse 104) of his *Pavanadūta* his desire to lead a retired spiritual life in a solitary place near a hill on the banks of the Bhāgīrathī (i.e. Ganges) during the fag end of his life. As a poet Dhoyī had earned name and fame among the learned men of his time. He obtained recognition of his merit from the reigning king of Bengal. As a poet, he had thus made his mark in life and he had in consequence no other craving in his old age. So he now wanted to devote himself exclusively to spiritual thoughts (Cf. “*Kīrtīrlabdhā sadasi viduṣām Śītalakṣaṇipālā*).

Vāksandarbhāḥ katicidamṛtasyandino nirmmitāśca I

Tīre sampratyanarasaritaḥ kvāpi śailopakāṇthe

Brahmābhyāse prayatamanasā netumīhe dināni II”—Vide

Dhoyī's *Pavanadūtam* edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, p. 36).

Going on pilgrimage to holy places seems to have been regarded as being meritorious from the religious standpoint in Hindu society in ancient Bengal, as at present. Pious Hindus and Buddhists alike seem in consequence to have visited holy places of pilgrimage. Thus the Monghyr copper-plate inscription of

Devapāla tells us that the soldiers and followers of the Pāla emperor Dharmapāla, who was out on an expedition for territorial conquest, visited many holy places of Hindu pilgrimage like the Kedāratīrtha, which seems to have been situated on the Himalaya mountain, Gokarna which seems to have been situated in the Bombay Presidency and the Gaṅgāsāgarasaṅgama or the well-known place of Hindu pilgrimage near which the Ganges falls into the Bay of Bengal. The followers of the Pāla emperor Dharmapāla are said to have performed prescribed religious rites and offered watery oblations to their own departed ancestors in these holy places of pilgrimage (Cf. "Kedāre vidhinopayukta-payasām Gaṅgāsametāmbudhau Gokarṇādiṣu cāpyanuṣṭhitavatām tīrtheṣu dharmmyāḥ kriyāḥ I"—Vide Verse 7 of the Monghyr copper-plate inscription of Devapāla in A. K. Maitreya's *Gauḍa-Lekhamālā*). The *Ghoṣrāwā* inscription of Vīradeva (Vide *Gauḍa-Lekhamālā*) also informs us that the great Buddhist scholar and monk Vīradeva came for pilgrimage to the temple at Mahābodhi in Bodh-Gayā with a view to see the image therein of Vajrāsana-Buddha from the distant Nagarahāra, his own birthplace (near Jalalabad in the Punjab). It is evident from a verse quoted by Cakrapāṇidatta or Cakradatta, an inhabitant of the Birbhum district of Western Bengal, in his work *Cikitsā-Saṅgraha* that the custom of offering oblations of sacred water like that of the river Ganges along with seeds of sesamum for pacifying the souls of departed persons who had left this world seems to have been prevalent in Hindu society in ancient Bengal (Cf.

"Gaṅgāyā uttare kūle aputrastāpaso mṛtaḥ I

Tasmai tilodawaṁ dadyānmuñcatyaikāhiko jvaraḥ II").

It is also stated in the *Cikitsā-Saṅgraha* (Vide Cakradatta's *Cikitsā-Saṅgraha*, Calcutta edition, Verse 217, pp. 48 and 60), in this connection that persons may be free from a class of fever caused probably by the evil influence of the spirit of a departed person by offering him such oblations. Svastyayana or propitiatory rites and 'homa' or offer of oblations to the sacred sacrificial fire for counteracting the evil influences of malevolent planets are also recommended by Cakrapāṇidatta in his medical work for the sake of recovery from certain classes of fever.

The *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, a well-known Hindu canonical work of the Bengal school written by Halāyudha, a contemporary of king Lakṣmaṇasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal shows that the 'Daśavidha-saṁskāras' or the ten commonly known fundamental rites which are even now observed in Hindu society in Bengal, seem to have been observed by orthodox members of the Hindu society in ancient Bengal. These rites beginning from the concep-

tion of a child and ending with his or her funeral or mortuary rites are known as:—(1) garbhādhāna, (2) puṁsavana, (3) sīmantonnayana, (4) niṣkrāmaṇa, (5) jātakarman, (6) annaprāśana, (7) cūḍākarana, (8) upanayana, or investiture of sacred thread, (9) vivāha or marriage and (10) śrāddha or post-mortem mortuary and other funeral rites (Vide Halāyudha's Brāhmaṇasarvasva edited by Tejaścandra Vidyānanda, Second edition, Calcutta, B.S. 1299). There are separate chapters in Halāyudha's Brāhmaṇasarvasva dealing with the duties usually observed by dutiful orthodox Brāhmaṇas in Hindu society in ancient Bengal. These duties included the daily observance of the Brahmanical rite called 'sandhyā' in the morning, at noon and in the evening; performance of 'tarpaṇa' or offer of watery oblations for satisfying the souls of departed sages and ancestors, observance of 'prāṇāyāma' or the practice of breath-control, 'Sūryārghadāna' or the daily worship of the Sun-god, 'Grahapūjā' or the performance of propitiatory rites for the satisfaction of the major planets, study of the Vedas and hospitable disposition towards guests, etc. The Rāmganj copper-plate inscription (Lines 28-33) speaks of the grant of a village by a vassal prince named Īśvaraghoṣa. The grant was made to a Brāhmaṇa as a pious gift. The donor is described as having made the aforesaid gift after having duly bathed in the river Jaṭodā and after having consecrated his gift with holy water while holding seeds of sesamum and blades of 'kuśa' grass in his hand (Cf. Jaṭodāyān snātvā tiladarbha pavitra-(daka)-pūrvakam pradatto' smābhīh."—Vide N. G. Majumdar's Inscriptions Of Bengal, Vol. III, pp. 156-157).

In the Edilpur copper-plate inscription (Verse 18) we find an eulogy of king Keśavasena:—" (His hands) would be kept engaged in discharging arrows drawn up to his ear when he was surrounded by foes, in handling the darbha grass soaked in water for consecrating gift in the assembly of the religious-minded " (Cf. "Ākarṇāṇcalamelakāraviśikhakṣepaiḥ samāje dviṣān dānāmbhaḥ kaṇagarbhadarbhakalanairgoṣṭhīṣu niṣṭhāvatām I"). It has been the custom in Hindu society in Bengal to consecrate all kinds of pious gifts, whether an endowment of land or be it an offer of gold, silver or anything else, with sesamum seeds and holy water sprinkled with the help of blades of 'kuśa' or darbha grass. Reference to the use of seeds of sesamum for the consecration of gifts may also be found in a contemporary Sanskrit work named Adbhūta-Sāgara, which is ascribed to king Vallālasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal. Thus verse 10, of this work (Vide Muralidhar Jhā's edition, Benares) runs as follows:—

"Nānādānatilāmbusambalanabham sūryātma-jāsaṅgamaiḥ I

Gaṅgāyām viracaryya nirjarapuram bhāryānuyāto gataḥ II". According to an alternative reading the phrase—"nānādāna-tilāmbu" should be read as—"nānādānacitāmbu" and the word—"saṁbalanabham" should be read as—"saṁcalanataḥ" (Vide R. G. Bhandarkar's Reports of Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1897. p. LXXXV). The words "bhāryānuyāto gataḥ" may accordingly be interpreted as denoting the existence in Hindu society in ancient Bengal of the custom of 'anumaraṇa' or 'sahamaraṇa'. A devoted wife in Hindu society in ancient Bengal would thus generally put an end to her own life soon after the death of her husband. This custom became known in later days as the custom of 'Sati'. The underlying idea is that even death cannot separate a devoted wife from the company of her husband because by putting an end to her own life she would join the company of her dead husband of her own accord, the moment physical death estranged her husband from the land of living beings.

In the Rāmacarita (Chap. I, Verse 14), king Rāmapāla is described as:—"Dānavyagrakarārpitakuśatilatoyoyamabalāriḥ". This expression is explained by the commentator in the following way:—(1) "Dānavīnām dānavabdhūnām agrahaste'rpitāni kuśa-tila (to) yāni yena vaidhavyam tāsām kṛtam I, (2) Dānāsakte kare'rpitāni kuśa (ti) lāni yena I" (Vide Sandhyākara Nandī's Rāmacaritam edited by R. C. Mazumdar, R. G. Basak and N. G. Banerjee, Varendra Research Museum, 1939, pp. 11-12). We thus find two alternative meanings namely (1) One by whom kuśa, tila and water were placed on the palms of the hands of the demonesses (i.e. who brought about their widowhood) and (2) One who had in his hands kuśa, tila and water, while engaged in acts of (pious) charity. This shows that widows in Hindu society in ancient Bengal used, as at present, to offer oblations with blades of kuśa grass, seeds of sesamum and holy water for pacifying the souls of their departed husbands. The custom of offering 'daśpiṇḍas' or giving ten oblations of boiled rice or of crushed powder of barley for pacifying the soul of a departed person on the tenth day after his or her demise from this world by his or her son or daughter or some other relation or acquaintance, which is even now observed in Hindu society in Bengal, seems to have been prevalent in Hindu society in ancient Bengal because this mortuary rite is mentioned in a Hindu canonical work named Hāralatā, written probably in the twelfth century A.D. by a Bengalee writer named Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, who is said to have been the preceptor of king Vallālasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal (Vide Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa's Hāralatā published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series by the Asiatic Society Of Bengal). There are numerous references in the early inscrip-

tions of Bengal to pious gifts of land especially paddy fields in accordance with the principles of 'akṣaya nīvīdharmā' to pious Brāhmaṇas, temples or monastic establishments (Vide my article "Transfer of Landed Property in 'Ancient Bengal'" in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. IX, Nos. 2 and 3). Thus in the Ānuliā copper-plate inscription (Verse 10) king Lakṣmaṇasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal is described as providing pious Brāhmaṇas with myriads of villages, which had excellent fields of 'śāli'paddy (Vide N. G. Majumdar's *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 81-91). In the Edilpur copper-plate inscription (Verse 24) king Keśavasena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal is similarly described as bestowing villages containing paddy fields to pious Brāhmaṇas. In the Mulla-sārul copper-plate inscription of Gopa (candra) and Vijaya-sena (Vide N. G. Majumdar's article in the *Vaṅgīya-Sāhitya-Pariṣad Patrikā*, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 17-21), Mahārāja Vijayasena, who was apparently a vassal of Mahārājādhirāja Śrī Gopa (candra) whom N. G. Majumdar has identified with king Gopacandra mentioned in a copper-plate inscription found in Faridpur, is similarly described as having made a pious gift to a pious Brāhmaṇa named Vatsa-svāmin.

The ostensible object in making such pious gifts, whether a plot of land or anything else, was the enhancement of the name and fame and the increase of the religious merit of the donor and his parents (Cf. the well-known maxim found in many early copper-plate inscriptions of Bengal namely, "Ātmanah mātāpitro puṇyayaśobhivṛddhaye"). The Government of those days seems also to have encouraged such gifts of land by private individuals because it would, in the first instance, bring some revenue to the royal treasury for the plot of land sought to be given as a pious gift to a Brāhmaṇa or a temple or a religious establishment would be sold to the donor by the Government and secondly it would entitle His Majesty to a sixth share of the religious merit accruing from such pious gifts of land. Lands given as free gifts according to the principle of 'nīvīdharmā' or as being not transferable in future to Brāhmaṇas, temples, religious establishments, etc., in ancient Bengal seem to have been granted by the donors with a view to encourage others to earn religious merit by making similar gifts of land and discourage all persons from violating in future such a property given to a donee as a free gift. Violation of a property or anything else once given away as a pious gift would accordingly be considered as being an abominable sacrilege (See my article: — "Some Manners and Customs in the light of the Early Inscriptions of Bengal and Assam" in the *Calcutta Review*, June, 1955). A study of the early inscriptions of Bengal and Assam also shows

that there was in ancient Bengal and Assam a common belief among the common people in Hindu society that as a result of virtuous deeds done during one's life on this earth a person enjoys a happy and blissful heavenly life (svarga) in life hereafter. A person committing sinful and abominable actions during his or her life on this earth was accordingly believed to have endless suffering (narakayantraṇā) in life hereafter.

As stated before, orthodox and dutiful Brāhmaṇas in Hindu society in ancient Bengal seem to have observed 'trisandhyā' or prayed to God thrice every day, once at dawn or in the morning, then at mid-day and then again at dusk or in the evening (sāyam). The performance of the mid-day Brahmanical ritual (madhyāhna sandhyā) is shown in a terracotta plaque found at Pāhārpur which depicts a kneeling man with hands raised and looking through the fingers as if at the sun over head. It is evident from some terracotta plaques found at Pāhārpur that there were some ascetics in ancient Bengal who seem to have renounced all worldly pleasures and seem to have moved hither and thither as wandering mendicants. Thus in some terracotta plaques found at Pāhārpur we find representations of ascetics as travelling mendicants having long beards. Their bodies seem to be bent and sometimes reduced to skeletons. They are represented as carrying staff in hands and their belongings such as bowls are depicted as hanging from either ends of a pole carried on the shoulder (Plate XLVIII, c), (*Vide* K. N. Dikshit's Excavations at Pāhārpur, Bengal, Delhi, 1938, pp. 66-67). The stone reliefs found at Pāhārpur form the most interesting and unique part of the discoveries ever made in Eastern India. A large number of stone sculptures pertains to the Kṛṣṇa cult which apparently loses its force in the Pāla period when the worship of Viṣṇu was at its height in Bengal. According to Mr. K. N. Dikshit, such a large number of figures relating to the Kṛṣṇa legend, though without any general sequence, would indicate that a great centre of Kṛṣṇa worship- the earliest known in Eastern India- was located at Pāhārpur (*Vide* K. N. Dikshit, *Op. Cit.*, Chap. IV, p. 37). The avowed religious denomination of the Pāhārpur monument itself being Buddhist, it appears rather strange that such a vast number of Brahmanical deities like Gaṇeśa, Kuvera, Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu, Rāma, etc., were installed in the walls of the temple found at Pāhārpur. It must not, however, be forgotten, as K. N. Dikshit points out, that in Nālandā the premier Buddhist centre of the time, sculptures representing Brahmanical gods are very common.

As stated before, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata seem to have enjoyed a very wide popularity among the common

people in Hindu society in ancient Bengal. Men and women of all rank seem to have heard with reverence the recitation and exposition of the texts of these epics. The Manahali copper-plate inscription (Line 44) of Madanapāla records the gift of land to a Brāhmaṇa named Vaṭeśvara Svāmī because the latter recited and explained the text of the Mahābhārata in the presence of Citramatikā Devī, the chief queen or the favourite consort of the Pāla emperor Madanapāla. The Deopārā inscription (Verse 4) of Vijayasena describes the Mahābhārata as "the honey-stream of beautiful stanzas, which the son of Parāśara (i.e. Vyāsa) had caused to flow to please the ears of mankind" (*Vide* N. G. Majumdar's *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 46). It is evident from a study of some of the early inscriptions of Bengal like the Malla-Sārul copper-plate inscription of Gopa (candra) and Vijayasena that men and women living in the villages and towns in ancient Bengal seem to have been mostly God-fearing and on the whole pious in disposition. Thus the Malla-Sārul copper-plate inscription (Lines 3 to 5) of Gopa (candra) and Vijayasena informs us that the provincial division named Vardhamāna-bhukti was surrounded by holy northern janapadas' (i.e. tracts of country) and was ever prosperous on account of incessant acts of piety (Cf. "punyottarajanapadādhyāsitāyām satata-dharma-kriyāvardhamānāyām Vardhamānabhuktau"). Charity on auspicious lunar days (tithi) like the eleventh lunar day (ekādaśī) and the last day of each month (saṁkrānti), etc., seems to have been regarded in ancient Bengal and Assam, as at present, to be specially meritorious from the religious standpoint. Pious gifts during the period of a lunar or a solar eclipse seem also to have been made especially by the womenfolk in Hindu society in ancient Bengal and Assam. The Kamauli copper-plate inscription records the gift of land by Mahārājādhirāja Vaidyadeva (Line 47-48) to a Brāhmaṇa named Śrīdhara who was an inhabitant of the Varendra country (Lines 37-46).

The land in question was situated in Kāmarūpamaṇḍala belonging to the Prāgjyotiṣapurabhukti (i.e. in Assam) and the gift in question was made during the last day of the month of Vaiśākha on an auspicious eleventh lunar day. According to the Bāṅgarh copper-plate inscription the village of Kuratāpallikā in the Koṭīvarṣaviṣaya of Puṇḍravardhanabhukti was similarly given to a Brāhmaṇa named Kṛṣṇāditya Śarmā on the last day of a month by king Mahīpāla I. who had taken his bath in the holy waters of the river Ganges (Lines 47-50). The Barrackpur copper-plate inscription of Vijayasena similarly informs us that four pāṭakas of land in the Khādīviṣaya of the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti

were given to a Brāhmaṇa named Udayakaradevaśarman (Lines 37-39). The grant of land was made as fee for the performance of Homa in connection with the Kanaka-Tulāpuruṣa-Mahādāna (i.e. the great gift of a golden 'Tulāpuruṣa) ceremony of the Mahā-Mahādevī (the great queen) Vilāsadevī during a lunar eclipse, within the palace at Vikramapura (Lines 39-43). The Naiḥāṭī copper-plate inscription also records the gift of a golden horse (i.e. the performance of the Hemāśvadāna ceremony) by the same queen Vilāsadevī, mother of king Vallālasena, during a solar eclipse (Verse 14) on the banks of the Ganges. As a fee for the performance of this ceremony the village Vallahitṭhā in Uttara-Rāḍha in the Vardhamānabhukti was given by her son Vallālasena to the preceptor Śrī-Vāsudevaśarman (Lines 37-54). The Tarpandighi copper-plate inscription records the gift of a golden horse and a chariot (Cf. hemāśvaratha-mahādānācārya). The Calcutta Sāhitya-Parīṣat copper-plate inscription of Viśvarūpasena records the grant of eleven plots of land to the Brāhmaṇa, the Āvallika-panḍita, Halāyudhaśarman. Two of these plots are said to have been given on the Uttarāyaṇasamkrānti day of the thirteenth regnal year. Three of these plots are said to have been given on the occasion of a lunar eclipse observed by the queen-mother (Line 52). Two of these plots were granted by the prince (Kumāra) Sūryasena whose birth-day was thus celebrated. It is evident that, as at present, the date of one's birth was considered as being a memorable or a red-letter day in his life. Every person, especially a male member in a Hindu family in ancient Bengal seems accordingly to have observed his or her birth-day with great solemnity. Pious gifts of land to Brāhmaṇas, Śramaṇas or ascetics, temples or religious establishments and other kinds of charitable and pious works on one's own birth day seems to have been a common practice among individuals in Hindu society in ancient Bengal.

The Rāmganj copper-plate inscription of Īśvaraghoṣa also records the grant of a village to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa-Nibbokaśarman. The donor is said to have made the aforesaid gift after having bathed in the river Jaṭodā on the last day of the month of Mārggaśīrṣa (Lines 31 and 33). It appears from the Pāhārpur copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 159 (i.e. 478-79 A.D.), that pious gifts of land were sometimes made conjointly by married couples in Hindu society in ancient Bengal (*Vide* my article-Women in the Early Inscriptions of Bengal" in B. C. Law, Volume, Part II, pp. 243-260). Images of Hindu deities were sometimes made through the munificence of pious Hindu ladies. The most conspicuous example of an image of this class is the Dhūlbārī śarvāṇī image made through the munificence of

Mahādevī Prabhāvatī, queen of Deva-Khaḍga. The Āphsad inscription of Ādityasena informs us that a temple of Viṣṇu was made by king Ādityasena while a 'maṭha' or a monastic establishment was made through the patronage of his mother Śrīmatī-devī and a tank was caused to be excavated for the benefit of the people of that locality through the munificence of his queen Koṇadevī (*Vide* R. D. Banerjee's Bāṅgālār Itihāsa, Part I, p. 117). The Pāhārpur copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 159 informs us that Nātha-śarmma, a Brāhmaṇa and Rāmī, his wife, approached the District Officer (āyuktaka) and the City Council headed by the Mayor (Nagara-śreṣṭhī) at Puṇḍravardhana with the request that in accordance with the procedure prevalent in that locality, they might be allowed to deposit three 'dīnāras' in return for one and a half Kulyavāpas of land distributed among four different villages, for being endowed in perpetuity for the maintenance of the requisites such as sandal, incense, flower, lamps, etc., for the worship of Arhats and for the construction of a resting-place at the 'vihāra' (monastery) of the Jaina preceptor Guhanandī at Vaṭa-Gohālī. Their prayer was granted and land was accordingly sold to them for the aforesaid purpose. The donation of a Brāhmaṇa couple for the worship of the images of Jaina Arhats as recorded in this inscription seems to be specially interesting for it shows the spirit of religious toleration among the common people of this period in ancient Bengal. (*Vide* Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX, pp. 63-64).

As stated before, images of gods were sometimes made and installed through the munificence of pious ladies in ancient Bengal. Thus one of the bronze images found at Kurkihār, dated in the 19th regnal year of king Vighrahapāla (*i.e.* the Pāla king Vighrahapāla II or Vighrahapāla III) has on it the following inscription (Line 3)—'Dulapabadhū-Pekhokāyā' (*Vide* Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XXVI, pp. 53 to 38). The name of the father is sometimes found mentioned in an image installed by his son. Thus a bronze image found at Kurkihār, bearing the date year 3 of the victorious reign of king Vighrahapāla (*i.e.* the Pāla king Vighrahapāla II or Vighrahapāla III), is said to have been the pious work of Tikuka, son of Dulapa. (*Cf.* "devadharmo'yam pravaramahāyāna-jaina pramopāsaka-Dulapasutah Tikukasya" *Vide* J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XXVI, pp. 35-38). The Keoār Viṣṇu image is said to have been made through the munificence of Vaṅgoka, son of the couple Sayoga and Anyamī (*Vide* Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVII, pp. 353 ff). Besides such images and religious establishments and tanks made through the munificence and religious zeal of some pious ladies in ancient Bengal, we find instances also

of some women, according to the evidence furnished by some later Bengali works like *Gopīchandr-er-Gāna* (Vols. I and II, published by the Calcutta University), *Gopīchandr-er-Sanyāsa* (*Gopīchandr-er-Sanyāsa*, edited by Abdul Sukkur Muhammad) and *Mīnachetana* (*Mīnachetna* edited by Dr. N. K. Bhattasali), taking spiritual initiation and engaging themselves in occult religious practices. The *Caryāpadas*, the earliest known specimens of Bengali literature, bear ample testimony to the practice of Tāntric Buddhism in ancient Bengal. Many ballads are even now popularly sung in Bengal in which queen *Mayanāmatī* and her son *Gopīchandra* figure. According to *Tārānātha* and some of these ballads, *Gopīchandra* was a ruler of *Mrkula* (now known as *Meharkula* in Tippera district). According to Dr. S. K. Chatterji, the old Bengali *Caryāpadas* were written during the period roughly in between 950 A.D. and 1200 A.D. In the *Caryāpadas* we find a hierarchy of Siddha poets who figure in the *Gopīchandr-er-gāna* or *Gopīchandra* legends also. Queen *Mayanāmatī* (*Madanāvatī*), seems to have been the wife of king *Māṇikchandra* of the Candra dynasty that ruled in Eastern Bengal in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.

The *Sahaja-yāna* or the *Sahajiyā* and the *Vajra-yāna* types of Tāntric modes of worship seem to have been not unknown among the people of Eastern Bengal, the seat of government of the kings of the Candra dynasty. *Mayanāmatī*, a lady of the Candra family, is said to have been the disciple of a Tāntric saint. Queen *Mayanāmatī* is said to have acquired great psychic powers as a disciple of the great Śaivite Yogī and Siddha *Gorakhnātha*, whose name is found in some of the *Caryāpadas*. *Mayanāmatī*'s son *Gopīchandra* is, according to the legend cycle associated with his name, said to have renounced his wives, *Adunā* and *Padunā* at the request of his mother *Mayanāmatī* and became a travelling mendicant as a disciple of *Hāḍī-pā*, evidently a spiritual teacher knowing occult psychic practices belonging in all probability to an inferior caste. The existence in ancient Bengal of some followers practising the *Sahajayāna* form of Tāntric Buddhism referred to in some *Caryāpadas* is proved by an inscription as stated before, of the thirteenth century A.D., engraved on a copper-plate found at *Mainamati* which records a grant of land in favour of a Buddhist monastery built in the city of *Paṭṭikera* by *Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva* in A.D. 1220 in the seventeenth year of his reign. This inscription speaks of a superior officer of the royal groom as practising the *Sahajadharma* in *Paṭṭikeraka* (*Vide* T. N. Ramachandran's article *Recent Archaeological Discoveries*

along The Mainamati and Lalmai Ranges, Tippera District, East Bengal' in B. C. Law Volume, Part II, 1946, pp. 214-15).

The cow seems to have been, as at present, an object of veneration in Hindu society in ancient Bengal. According to a verse written by the poet Śubhāṅka (*Vide* Śrīdhara-dāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* edited by Pandit Rāmāvatāra Śarmā, Lahore, p. 303) a Hindu householder in ancient Bengal would consider that his home was sanctified if he had in his home at least one domesticated cow (Cf. "dhenubhirdhāma pūtam") and he would think himself as fulfilling his ethical obligation as a member of the Hindu society of that age if his wife was unflagging in her zeal for entertaining guests (Cf. "Śithilayati ca bhāryā nāttheyī saparyām"). In other words, the ethical codes of that age laid down the rule that no Hindu householder should be lacking in his sweet words and kind treatment towards guests and beggars (Cf. "Tṛṇāni bhūmirudakam vāk sunṛtām ca caturthīm etānyapi satām gehe nocchidyante kadācana"). The ideals followed by members of Hindu society in ancient Assam seem to have been practically the same as we find them reflected in the early inscriptions and ancient literature of Bengal. In ancient Bengal, Behar and Assam, or to be more apt, in ancient India as a whole, the practice of religion was never treated as a thing apart from the ordinary or normal duties of men and women and hence the religious life of the people in Hindu society in ancient Bengal, Behar, Assam and Orissa cannot be looked upon as a thing dissociated entirely from the secular life of the people because the ordinary duties of family life of a householder in ancient Hindu society in India were alike governed by certain broad ethical or moral rules and principles of religion.

The principles of conduct among Hindus, Buddhists and Jains in ancient Bengal seem to have been essentially and fundamentally the same. Consequently there was hardly any feeling of religious tension and animosity among members of these rival faiths. Respect for one's own parents, elders, preceptors and teachers, fulfilment of moral and spiritual obligations to one's own departed ancestors by offering regularly oblations of water (*tarpaṇa*), respect for and charity towards Brāhmaṇas, pious ascetics, temples and religious institutions like monastic establishments, veneration for the cow, kindness and courtesy towards guests and sympathy and succour for beggars and persons who were in distress, unflinching devotion towards husband, etc., have, therefore, been enjoined as duties of family life by all Hindu canonical writers of ancient Bengal like Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, Halāyudha, Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa and Raghunandana. It may be noted,

however, that in ancient Hindu society in Bengal there were some men and women who could not conform in their tastes and habits to the orthodox Brahmanical ideals of family life. Thus a Caryā song ascribed to 'Kukkurīpāda gives a short description of a married Hindu lady who seems to have been outlandish in her manners and seems to have a sort of profligate character. This married lady is said to have become afraid by hearing the cawing of a crow during the period of day but she is said to have habitually kept herself awake till late hours at night evidently for her secret overtures of love without being afraid in the least. (Cf.

"Āṅgana gharapaṇa suna bho biātī I

Kāneṭa chaurī nila adharātī II

Susurā nida gela bahuṛī jāgaa

Kāneṭa chore nila kā gai māgaa II

Dibasai bahuṛī kārai dare bhāa

Rāti bhaile kāmaru jāa II" -- Vide Caryācaryavinīścayaḥ edited by H. P. Śāstrī, B. S. 1323, Calcutta, p. 5). The woman in question is accordingly described here as wailing for the loss of her own earrings which were stolen by a thief when her father-in-law was asleep at dead of night. As a voluptuary, the daughter-in-law seems to have kept herself awake habitually in an unguarded state till midnight every day. She was thus responsible for the loss of her earrings and hence there was no one whom she could approach for making up her loss. In a Caryā song ascribed to Dheṇḍhanapāda (Vide Caryācaryavinīścayaḥ edited by H. P. Śāstrī, Calcutta, B.S. 1323, p. 51) we similarly find the description of the miserable condition of a profligate woman whose home was visited every now and then by many paramours. Her home is said to have been situated in a lonely place. She had no neighbours around her. But the number of visitors to her home seemed to be ever increasing. She had practically no food like boiled rice or milk by which she could entertain her friends or paramours. There was hardly any boiled rice in her cooking pot (hāṇḍī). The milk obtained by milking the domesticated cow seemed in consequence to have vanished as if it had re-entered the cow's body through its udder.

The Caryā song in question is given below: --

"Tālata mora ghara nāhi paṛabeṣī I

Hāṇḍīta bhāta nāhi niti ābeṣī II

Beṅga (ga) saṁsāra baḍhila jāa I

Duhila dudhu ki beṅṭe ṣāmāya II

The God and Cult of Somnath

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Al-Beruni, the author of *Kitab-ul-Hind*, visited many temples of Hindustan as a camp follower of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna during the latter's expedition into the lands of the *Kafirs* (infidels). Though officially Al-Beruni was designated *Munajjim* (Court Astrologer), he had interest in variety of subjects. He mentioned that he had found in Somnath a number of men who called themselves *As-Somaniya*. According to him, these men hated the Brahmans and held views which were different from those held by them. Al-Beruni, further asserted that the Somaniyas could be found in Hindustan, Iran, Khorasan, Balkh, Herat and Syria. There were temples dedicated to the God *Soma* (*Siva*) in many places. One such temple was in Balkh and it was known as *Nava-Vihar*. It was a big monastery "where lay an idol inside and a big flag flew on the top of this temple which might be seen from a distance of 100 *Kos* (200 miles)". It is mentioned in the *Kitab-ul-Aghani* a stupendous record of music and musicians in Arabic that people used to come and visit the temple of Nava-Vihar from China, Turkistan and Hindustan (Vol. iii, page 20).

Ibn Nadim, the author of *Al-Fihrist* (The Catalogue) mentioned that Somnath, Nava Vihar and Sarandwip (Ceylon) were amongst the great religious centres of the East in the 9th century A.D.

But was the Nava-Vihar a Buddhist temple? We know from the Abbasid History (*Tarik-ul-Abbasi*) that their minister Al-Barmaki before his conversion was the *Paramaka* (the chief of the temple of Nava Vihar) and that he was a Buddhist.

These three pieces of information seem to be contradictory. If the Somaniyas were not Brahmanical, they might be fire-worshippers. The Nava-Vihar temple might be a Buddhist one,

because the title *Paramaka* suggests Buddhist association (Kerr, *Geschichte des Buddhism Indien*, ii. 445,543). The fire-den indicated that the temple might have been connected with the fire-worshippers. But Al-Beruni definitely mentioned that the temple had the idol of Siva inside which was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazna. The problem of identity becomes a little complicated because the *Somaniyas* come from very distant places—Syria in the West, Turkistan in the North, China in the East and Ceylon in the South. Al-Beruni again says that the Nava-Vihar was a Somaniya temple and the Somaniyas could also be found in Somnath. So both Somnath and Nava-Vihar had more than one common point of interest.

Professor Barthold says that about 200 years after the demise of Lord Buddha and about 250 years before Lord Christ there were some centres of Buddhism outside India. Evidently, he refers to the age of Asoka (C. 272-232 B.C.). It is said that after the cremation of the body of the Buddha, the eight parts of his body were interred in eight different places of India which ultimately became the nucleus of the eight chief centres of Buddhist religion. Asoka extended the eight to eighty-four centres. One of these eighty four centres, was in Somnath. It is but natural that there was intercommunication amongst the different centres of Buddhism in and outside India, because there the pilgrims used to come and visit their sacred places.

Now, what was the deity, if any, in the temple of Somnath? Al-Beruni says that the image in the temple was of Somnath, was the moon-crested god (*Chandra-sekhara*), that is, the God Siva. Prior to the age of the *Manabharata*, the region now known as Gujrat was described as *Prabhasa* and it was here that the temple of Somnath stood. The area was reputed for Vedic sacrifices and worships. The Mahabharata says that a ceremonial fire used to burn there constantly (*Mahabharata, Vanaparva, Chap. 78*). The worship of fire was but a relic of the ancient Vedic age.

The *Pandavas* during their exile visited the holy precincts of Prabhasa. It was here that *Sri Krishna* came to meet the *Pandavas* during their exile. The *Yadavas* performed their sacrifice here. Lord Krishna cast off his mortal remains here in Prabhasa. It is narrated in the *Puranas* that while *Chandra* (Moon) cursed by his father-in-law *Daksha*, was suffering from consumption, he was advised to go to Prabhasa which had a hot-spring. Chandra cured himself by taking bath in that hot-spring. Since then Prabhasa became famous as the sacred spot of the Moon. It was thus that Prabhasa became connected with moon legend and a Vedic God *Soma* was introduced there. But

in course of time, when God Siva received precedence in the pantheon of Aryan gods particularly during the Puranic age, the moon-god got sublimated into Siva and the moon-god was satisfied with a place on the forehead of Siva. Hence Siva is described as Chandra-sekhara or the Moon-crested.

In the Mahabharata, god Siva is described by Sri Krishna thus—the Mahadeva has a dual expression, half of which is represented by fire and the other half by moon (*Anusasana Parva*, Chap. 161).

Thus the Somnath temple included the Vedic sacrificial fire, the Puranic ceremonial image of Siva and the legendary moon in different periods of her eminence. The image of Siva was represented by a *Linga* (Phallus). Al-Beruni described the image thus: "It is the flow and ebb to which Somnath owes its name; for the stone (*Lingam*) of Somnath was originally erected on the coast, a little less than three miles west of the mouth of the river *Sirsuti*, east of the golden fortress Baroi which had appeared as the dwelling place of *Vasudeva Krishna* where He and His family were killed, and where They were cremated. Each time when the Moon rises and sets, the water of the ocean rises in flood so as to cover the place under reference. When the moon reaches the meridian of the moon in the midnight, the water reaches the ebb, and the place becomes again visible. Thus, the Moon is perpetually occupied in serving the idol and bathing it. Therefore, the place was considered as sacred to the Moon. This fortress contained an idol, its treasure was not ancient, but it was built only about a hundred years ago". (*Kitab-ul-Hind*, pages 253-54). This is the most eloquent description that we have of the idol and temple of Somnath in the early 11th century from contemporary records.

Al-Beruni says that he met followers of the *Somaniya* cult in the Somnath area; but he did not mention whether they worshipped the idol in the temple. Rather, he said, "the Somaniyas held views contrary to those held by the Brahmans". Further, Al-Beruni said that people from distant lands came to worship at Somnath and that the Somaniyas could be found in many places outside India. In that context he mentioned the Nava-Vihar temple in Balkh. Of all the temples and monasteries outside India, we get a graphic description of the Nava-Vihar of Balkh in contemporary Arabic records. A detailed study of the Nava-Vihar temple might give us necessary clues for pursuit of the subject.

Nava-Vihar has also been mentioned in connection with the origin of the *Baramaka* family who were the prime ministers of the early Abbasid Khilafat of Baghdad (753 to 774 A.D.) *Kitabul-*

Aghani mentioned the Nava-Vihar in connection with the musicians who came from the region of the Nava-Vihar; it has been mentioned in connection with the description of Balkh and Khorasan which was the land of his birth. The *Paramaka* was the title of chief of the monastery in a Buddhist temple. The name Vihar suggests that the sanctuary was a Buddhist one. The Nava-Vihar may mean that it was a new monastery or it was a collection of nine monasteries (*Nava* means new or nine). The Abbasid history is closely connected with exploits of the family of the Paramaka or Baramaka. After the conquest of Balkh by Khalifah Mansur (753 A.D.--774 A.D.), the Paramaka or the Chief priest of Nava-Vihar was brought to Baghdad as a prisoner. The Khalifah resented the presence of prisoner with a dazzling ring in hand and he enquired why the prisoner had appeared before his royal presence with a ring in hand. The Paramaka proudly replied, "You are a leader of a spiritual community, so am I. I expect from you the treatment of an equal. If you deny me this honour, I shall suck this ring and will put an end to my life to avoid dishonour". The Khalifah was astonished to hear the bold reply, and he let the prisoner free. This generous gesture won over the Indian priest, and he got himself converted into Islam with his followers. He ultimately became the minister of the Khalifah and was known as *Khalidbin-Barmaki*, his son *Iahtya* and grandson *Jafar* dominated the Abbasid Empire for over two decades. It is remarked correctly by Browne that the glory that was Abbasid was the glory that was *Barmakid*. And it is a fact that the glory of the Abbasid court was largely due to its connection with the Indian Culture that was imported into Baghdad through the Barmaki ministers. Indian scholars and physicians, astronomers and professional men, found ready welcome into the court of Abbasids due to the patronage of the Barmakids and ultimately of the Abbasid Khalifah (*Codox Indodueusis, Siva medici, Abu Mansur liber, fundamentorum pharmacologic*. Ex. Seligmann, Vienna, 1859 pp. 6, 8, 10 and 15).

But inspite of the conversion of the leader of the monastery, the temple Nava-Vihar continued to remain as it was. The authors of the *Kitabul Aghani* say that people used to come and visit the temple from China, Turkistan and Hindustan. The author of the *Surgical Instruments of the Hindus* (Vol. I, 1350) says, "the contemporaries of the Barmakis never thought seriously of their profession of Islam, nor regarded it as genuine." Evidently the common bond of attraction amongst them was religion; possibly that religion was Budhism which in some form or other existed in those three countries. According to him, the smoke of fire that

came out of the sacrificial den inside the temple could be seen from very long distance. The region of Balkh was inhabited by people of the Indo-Iranian group which had a fire cult of its own. The Iranian word for Fire was *Angus* which Hindus called *Agni*, the Iranian word for Moon was *Haoma* which the Indian called *Soma*. Both Fire and Moon were objects of worship in India and Iran. After their defeat by the Arab Muslims, most of the Iranians were forced to accept Islam; many of those that did not, they migrated by sea route to Guzrat owing to facility of communication. Further, the place was congenial to the Iranian evacuees, because, it had the cults of Fire and Moon with which they were familiar. It was their religious steadiness that prompted the unconverted Iranians to leave their home and hearth: so Guzrat with its temple of Fire and Moon provided them an opportunity to follow their religious traditions. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the Somaniva cult got some adherents from amongst the new entrants from Iran.

Let us now come to Sind in the contemporary age. The date of the appearance of Islam synchronised with the rule of king *Chach* in Sind. Muhammad died in 632 A.D. and the rule of Chach began practically in the same year and continued for 40 years (631-671 A.D.) King Chach was a Hindu, but he had under him some governors who were Buddhists though the official relation between Hinduisim and Buddhism was not a happy one in spite of Sankaracharya's philosophic attempt to make a rapproachment between Hinduism and Buddhism. The author of *Kitab-ul-Aghani* said, "negotiators during the invasion of Muhammad bin Qasim against *Dahir*, King of Sind were invariably Buddhists (*Kitab-ul-Aghani* Vol. iii. page 62). One section of the army of Muhammad bin Qasim marched down the route along *Shivasthan* (Sewan) where the ruler was Dahir's son, *Vajra*, who regretted that his Buddhist governors did not come to his help against the Muslims. (*Sufism in Sind*, J. P. Bulraj, Adyar, Madras, 1924, page 18). The Muslim settlers in the coasts of Guzrat and the Arab mercenaries in the army of Dahir sided with the invading Arab army. After the recall of Muhammad bin Qasim by his father-in-law for his alleged crime for sending the two daughters of Dahir after deflowering them himself, *Jaisya*, a son of Dahir reconquered Brahmanabad. It is said that to avoid direct opposition from the Arabs he got himself converted to Islam. The Arabs followed a systematic policy of conversion in the West Coast and the Scythian settlers who had been pushed into Sind and Guzrat by the *Kushanas* generally changed their religion, while the original Hindus did not. Thus, in Guzrat, there were

five classes of inhabitants, the Hindus, Buddhists, Parsees (Iranians) and Arab settlers and converts. Besides them, there were the Somaniyas who have been mentioned by Al-Beruni. The Somaniyas must be either Hindus, or Buddhists, or they might have been a combination of both Hindus and Buddhists. It is a historical fact that in course of time, the two religions had assimilated many elements from each other. Hinduism owing to her inherent assimilative tendency, incorporated the Buddha as an incarnation of God (*Avatar*). The process of fusion went so far that *Sankara* was branded as "a Buddhist in disguise" (*Prachhna Buddha*). Thus, the Buddha was regarded by the Hindus as an incarnation of *Vishnu* and the *Buddhisatwa* was an incarnation of *Siva*. On the other hand, Buddhism incorporated Hindu gods and goddesses, their rituals and sacrifices, as well as their forms of worship in many places. Even god *Siva* was installed in Buddhist temples as in Nepal and Tibet.

The geographical situation of Guzrat was very favourable to a fusion of cultures and thoughts. Guzrat occupied the western most corner of India and was the nearest spot from the east of Europe. India's ships started on their westward journey from the ports of Guzrat; Iranian boats which sailed down south stopped at her door; the routes from the north-west through the Punjab and Sind lost themselves into the fields of Guzrat. Again, when the Scythians were pushed from the west by the Kushanas and from the east by the Guptas, they stepped into Sind and Guzrat. The Scythians and Huns in the absence of a deep-rooted cultural heritage easily transformed their cultures and religions to a hybrid from of Hinduism and Buddhism.

In the process of a cultural synthesis of the mid-east, Guzrat and Sind had honourable places. That Israel had commercial relations with the west coast of India is proved by the discovery of *Opir* (*Sopar* or *Suppark*) in Bombay presidency in the days of Solomon of the Old Testament. Solomon's throne was made from sandle wood taken from India (*Shema* vol. iv no. 3 pp. 10-11, B. V. Jacob) Hebrew word *Koph* (Monkey) is Sanskrit *Kapi* (कपि); Indian fine cloth is Babylonian *Sindu*; the Indian sugar शर्करा (*Sarkara*) is Arabic *Sakkar*; Indian merchandise poured into Egypt through the Erythraean Sea (coasts of the Arabian and the Red Sea). Greece and Rome had brisk trade with India and it has been proved by the discovery of the Antonine coins in South India. The history of Buddhism included the history of outward march of India beyond the peninsula.

Possibly, never was the cultural unity of the ancient world better realised than was done under the inspiration of the Buddhist monks. A detailed discussion on the cultural influence of India on the contemporary world is outside the scope of this paper. But it might be said that during the early centuries of the Christian era, Buddhism was the most dominant religion of the civilised world. In some form or other, every race and every people of Asia worshipped Buddha. Even the Central and West Asians made an idol of Buddha and called it *But*. The monastic life of Buddhist *Bhikshus* or *Sramanas* penetrated among the Christian anchorites, and the Catholic monks are nothing but the different editions of the Hindu *Sanyasis* or Buddhist *Sramanas*. Goldziher has very ably put Buddhist point of view in his famous treatise on the Buddhist influence on Islam. If the Japanese *Shinto* is the way of God, the Chinese *Bapo* is the way of Buddha i.e., of God. It is interesting to note that the Mongols, too, adopted Buddhism which was known amongst them as the *Samaniya* in imitation of name of श्रमण *Sramana* who propagated the faith amongst them (Encyclopaedia of Religion, Hastings, article on Shamana). Buddhism was a proselytising religion. But Buddhism was based on *Dharma Vijaya* (धर्मविजय), moral conquest. As Buddhism was not spread under the physical influence of any king, and as there was no place for compulsion in Buddhism, every race could easily adjust the religion of its adoption to its own genius, environment and need. The Chinese, Japanese, Turks, Mongols, Burmese, Ceylonese and Indonesians did not find it difficult to compromise Buddhism with their own traditions. In the absence of any political power to install Buddhism of a particular brand, every race was free to make changes in the rituals and ceremonials so much so that Buddhism gradually lost its identity except the name.

Hinduism is a process of development. Hinduism never claimed that it was by God directly revealed through medium of an angel with a clear-cut formula like Judaism, Christianity or Islam. The Indo-Aryans depended on the personal realisation of the seers (*Rishis*) who started with philosophy and then developed theology, while the Semitics started with theology and then developed philosophy. Hence, in the process of its growth, Hinduism could easily incorporate fresh factors which made it convenient for new entrants to adopt and adjust.

We have surveyed a longer period and moved on a wider canvas in order to find the root of changes that made the eclecticism of the *Somaniyas* possible. The *Somaniyas* have not been included

into the category of the Muslims by Al-Beruni. Again, they have been referred to as having held views not held by Brahmans, so they are not included into the category of the Hindus. Were they Buddhists? The name *Somaniya* as the sound-similarity suggests is from the Buddhist word *Sramana*; they made pilgrimages to the monasteries of Nava-Vihara of Balkh, which had the Hindu ideal of moon crested Siva (चन्द्रशेखर) Iranian fire-den. and Buddhist Paramaka (परमक). The word *Somaniya* may suggest connection with the cult of Soma (सोम) or the Moon.

Let us quote from *Kitab-ul-Aghani* a discussion at the house of an elite of Baghdad in this connections. Six theologians—Amir Ibn Ubaid, Wathil Ibn Abi Ata, Bashar il Amar, Saleh Ibn Abdul Quddus, Abdul Karim Ibn Abi Qaza and Jarir Ibn Azim often met at the house of Azdi and discussed problems of theology. Later on, the first two became *Mutazilites*, the third and the fourth were left in doubt and Azdi was converted to the opinion of the *Somaniyas* (*Kitab-ul-Aghani*, Vol. III, page 24). *Kitab-ul-Aghani* does not mention anything about the tenets of the *Somaniyas*. Al-Beruni gives description of the doctrine of *Somaniyas*. The *Somaniyas* believed that “no real knowledge could come without reference to the material aspect of the soul. In fact, the spiritual must correspond with the material; mere imagination was not enough even in matters relating to the Divinity, the Absolute. So, they were called the *Al Zahiriah*—the Expressionists. This group was opposed to the *Al-Batinia*—the Illuminati who believed that even in the physical world, many things cannot be understood by five senses of men, because they are limited in function and scope. So, it is vain to expect to understand the truth about soul and God by mere reference to the physical expressions. According to them the knowledge of the Divinity (*Ilahiyat*) does not yield to the perception based on human senses.”

The philosophical side, of the *Somaniyas* is interesting to follow. The contemporary Islamic world was pulsating with scholastic pursuits due to its contact with the Greek philosophy in the West and Indo-Iranian and Indo-Aryan philosophy in the East. The impact led to the growth of Philosophy along with and beyond theology in Islam. Such discussions at Basra led to the foundation of the doctrine of *Seceders* (*MUTAZILIES*) by Wasil Ibn Ata in course of a discussions on the attributes of God. The *Mutazilites* dominated the intellectual class of the Muslims for about two and half centuries till they were persecuted by *Khalifah Mutadi* (179 A.H./892 A.D.) and turned out. But the net result of the *Mutazilite* discussion was the quietening of the

Muslim mind and broadening of the Muslim intellect. The Somaniya philosophy gave the Muslim intellectual class an opportunity for a comparative study of Islam and other contemporary thoughts.

By the time Mahmud of Ghazna (388 A.H./998 A.D.) the Islamic theology had lost its edge to much that the eternity of the Quran was substituted by a decree that the Quran was created in time and space. By thus, Islam had been softened a good deal of its pristine Arabian orthodoxy and made compromise with other doctrines and faiths. After reciting the Kalma (creed of the unity of God) a Muslim might intellectually approach any other creed and observe any other ritual which was not expressly prohibited by the Quran and made *HARĀM* (forbidden) and he remained a Muslim. For a Muslim it was no longer a crime to visit the temple or Nava-Vihar in Balkh or send offerings to the temple of *Al-Rawandia* or felt sympathy with the *Zindiqiya* in Iran.

To conclude, the Somaniya cult had its origin in India in the worship of Soma or Moon; it expanded its sphere by incorporating the God Siva in the Epic age; in the later Buddhist age the Somaniya made compromise with Hindu cult and Siva was worshipped in Buddhist temples. The Iranians found the Somaniya cult congenial to them because of their rituals connected with fire. The Muslim found it congenial because of its eclectic philosophy which could find some common basis in the unorthodox Islamic cults of the contemporary age.

A Sketch of Mohammad Awfi and His Works

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Mohammad Awfi occupies a high place in Persian Literature for his celebrated work, the *Jamiul-Hikayat Wa Lawmiur-Riwayat*. He was born in Bokhara about 1170 A.D. His full name was Sadiduddin Mohammad bin Mohammad bin Yahya bin Tahir bin Uthman Al-Awfi al-Bokhari al-Hanafi. But Hamdullah Mustawfi Qazwini, the author of *Tarikhe-Guzidah* (composed in 1330 A.D. nearly one hundred years after the death of Mohammad Awfi) erroneously calls him Nuruddin and has been followed by many other writers, who taking queue from him make the same mistake. In the *Lubabul-Albab*, on the other hand, we come across a line composed by Syed Mohazzabuddin al-Asfazari, to whom Mohammad Awfi was personally known, which clearly mentions his *Laqab* (surname) as Sadid and *Nisba* (cognomen) Awfi. In face of this contemporary evidence Hamdullah Mustawfi's version of Mohammad Awfi's *laqab* does not hold good.

According to his own statement in the preface of the *Jamiul-Hikayat Wa Lawamiur-Riwayat*—a statement which is repeated at several places in the work, Sadiduddin was a descendant of Abdur-Rahman bin Awf, one of the famous companions of the Prophet, from whom he derived his *Nisba* of Al-Awfi. His grandfather Abu Tahir Yahya bin Tahir Awfi was a renowned Traditionist and man of learning in Transoxiana. Mohammad Awfi was educated in Bokhara. His teachers included such eminent scholars as Imam Burhanul-Islam Tajuddin, Imam Ruknuddin and Maulana Qutbuddin Sarakhsi. Imam Burhanul-Islam and Imam Ruknuddin had both earned wide recognition for their scholarly accomplishments and piety in Transoxiana; the former

was held in high esteem by Sultan Jalaluddin Ibrahim Tamghaj Khan of Samarqand and his son, Prince Nusratuddin Qilij Arsalan, and the latter was martyred when the Mongols captured Bokhara in 1220 A.D. Maulana Qutbuddin was also a profound scholar and an excellent calligrapher.

After completing his schooling, Mohammad Awfi in 1200 A.D. started on his first journey, in search of some suitable employment and to make acquaintances of the learned men of the day. He made his way to Samarqand where his maternal uncle Mojad-daduddin Mohammad bin Ziyauddin and his son Jalaluddin were both in the service of Sultan Jalaluddin Ibrahim bin al-Hussain Tamghaj Khan (1178-1201 A.D.) the last but one of the Khaniyya dynasty of Transoxiana. Through the influence of his uncle, Mohammad Awfi was granted an audience by the Sultan and included among the Ulemas at the Court. He participated in the literary discussions held under the auspices of the Throne and on one occasion he astonished the Ulemas and the Sultan by explaining the meaning of a difficult verse, which no other scholar had been able to explain to the satisfaction of the Sultan. As a reward for his masterly explanation, he was appointed by the Sultan an honorary Secretary to Prince Nusratuddin Qilij Arsalan. But Mohammad Awfi did not stay long at the court of Sultan Jalaluddin. Hardly a year after his arrival at Samarqand he left the court and returned to Bokhara.

The next fifteen years, Mohammad Awfi spent touring the different parts of Transoxiana and Khorasan, culminating in his eventual arrival in India. He visited Khwarazm, Merv, Herat, Nishapur, Isfazar, Isfarain, Nasa, Shahre-Naw, Sistan, Farah and Ghazna one after another. The extensive travels enabled him to make acquaintances of some of the most reputed poets, writers, traditionists, historians, scientists, theologians philosophers and scholars belonging to other branches of learning and benefit from their company. At Khwarazm he met Imam Alauddin Sheikhul-Islam al-Harthi, the most accomplished traditionist of the time and obtained permission from him to relate *traditions* (the sayings of the Prophet) on his own behalf. During his short stay at Samarqand he had in a similar manner secured permission from Imam Sharfuddin Mohammad bin Abi Bakr another acknowledged traditionist in Transoxiana, to relate *traditions*. The chief intention behind his extensive tours was, as mentioned above, to meet the learned men and benefit from their company. To what extent Awfi succeeded in benefiting from the company of the scholars by undertaking long journeys, which was not always an easy task, may be seen in the almost unsurpassable wealth of

informations, both of literary and historical importance contained in his celebrated work the *Jamiul-Hikayat Wa Lawamiur-Riwayat*. Some of the anecdotes of the most informative nature would not have found mention in the work; if Mohammad Awfi had not heard them from scholars whom he met at different places in course of his travels. Mohammad Awfi has mentioned the names of the persons from whom he had heard those anecdotes while referring to their sources.

Awfi was still touring in 1216 A.D. when he learnt of the Mongol invasion of Transoxiana and Khorasan. Like several other learned men of Central Asia, he turned his face in the direction of India and passing through Ghazna, crossing the mountaineous barriers descended into the Punjab. He presented himself at the Court of Sultan Nasiruddin Qubacha (1205-28 A.D.), who ruled over the Punjab, Sind and Gujerat, and entered into his service. With his arrival at the Court of Sultan Nasiruddin, the period of Awfi's extensive tours came to an end and the period of his literary productions began. He was given every help by the Sultan and his Wazir Ainul-Mulk in order that he could pursue his literary activities in peace.

Mohammad Awfi first undertook to write the *Lubabul-Albab* (Biography of Poets). He had collected ample material for the *Biography* in course of his travels. But during the tour of Khorasan, he unfortunately lost the manuscript, as a result, he had now to depend solely on his memory in the compilation of the work. He gave a good account of his memory and the *Biography*, which comprised two volumes, was successfully brought to completion in 1221/2 A.D. Awfi dedicated the work to the Wazir of Sultan Nasiruddin Qubacha, Ainul-Mulk Fakhruddin bin Sharfuddin, as a token of expression of his gratitude for his patronage.

The first part of the *Lubabul-Albab* consists of twelve chapters containing biography of one hundred and thirty poets and the second part consists of seven chapters containing biography of one hundred and sixty-nine. According to the researches of Edward G. Browne and Mohammad Abdul-Wahab Qazwini, "the *Lubabul-Albab* contains notices of one hundred and twenty-two royal and noble personages, who occasionally condescended to write verse and of about one hundred and sixty-three poets by profession, of whom thirty belong to the Tahiri, Saffari and Samani periods, twenty nine to the Ghaznavi period and fifty to Seljuq period, while some fifty four are roughly the author's contemporaries."

As Mohammad Abdul-Wahab Qazwini and Edward G. Browne point out in the preface of the first part of the *Lubabul-Albab*,

the importance of the work is manifold. It is the oldest work on biography of Persian poets. Had it not been for the *Lubab*, many of the poets, specially of the earlier periods would never have been recorded. The later biographers have copied from the *Biography* for poets of the Tahiri, Saffari and Samani periods. Some of the biographers who flourished after Mohammad Awfi*and had no knowledge of his *Lubabul-Albab*, omitted description of poets belonging to Tahiri, Saffari, Samani and Ghaznavi periods and even the names of those poets did not find a mention in their works. This fact alone goes a long way to emphasize the historical value of the *Biography*

But the *Lubabul-Albab* has certain defects also. For example, although it tends to describe biography of poets, it fails to give any detailed account of their lives and activities. The dates of birth and death which form essential elements in a biographical work have been omitted in almost all cases. Awfi has failed to give detailed biographical particulars of even those poets who were roughly his contemporaries and about whom at least it was possible for him to obtain and record detailed informations. The language of the work is highly florid and overburdened with unnecessary similies and metaphors. The high titles which Awfi attaches to the names of the poets are simply decorative, they do not serve any utilitarian purpose in helping us in estimating the poets by their poetic merits. In the selection of verses also, as Mohammad Abdul-Wahab Qazwini rightly criticises, Mohammad Awfi has shown utter carelessness. Very often even the best of poets have been represented by their most mediocre productions. Awfi's infatuation for word-plays to some extent makes the reading boring rather than more interesting. And yet when all these defects have been pointed out, it has to be admitted that the work contains far more qualities which captivate the attention of the reader and on account of which, it deserves and occupies an eminent position in Persian literature.

Soon after the completion of the *Lubabul-Albab*, Mohammad Awfi began compilation of his second and more celebrated work, the *Jamiul-Hikayat Wa Lawamiur-Riwayat* (Compendium of Anecdotes and Flashes of Traditions). He had been asked by Sultan Nasiruddin Qubacha to write the book, but it could not be completed during the Sultan's reign. In May 1228 A.D. Nasiruddin Qubacha sustained defeat at the hands of Iltutinish's Wazir, Nizamul-Mulk and drowned himself in the river to escape capture and humiliations. Mohammad Awfi's reference in the preface of the compendium, to the tragic fall of the Sultan is very pathetic and rouses our sympathy for the unfortunate monarch. Nasir-

uddin Qubacha was an able administrator, a man of learning and a patron of art and literature. After the Mongol onslaughts, a large number of learned men had escaped from Central Asia and taken refuge at the court of Sultan Nasiruddin who offered them every help to enable them to pursue their literary activities in peace. His Court could rightly boast to present a fine galaxy of scholars representing every branch of learning of that age. After his fall many scholars living at his court, went over to Ilutush at Delhi, Awfi being one of them. Nizamul-Mulk Mohammad bin Abi Saad al-Junaidi, the famous Wazir of Ilutush, took Mohammad Awfi under his patronage and requested him to finish the *Jamiul-Hikayat Wa Lawamiur-Riwayat*, promising every help needed in that connection. Awfi thus encouraged resumed the work and the *Compendium* was completed in 1232 A.D. As a token of expression of his gratitude, Mohammad Awfi dedicated the celebrated work to Nizamul-Mulk, to whose encouragement and liberal help the *Compendium* had owed its completion.

Another work of Awfi is the Persian translation of *al-Faraj bada Shidda* which had originally been composed by Qazi Abi Ali al-Mohassin (d. 984 A.D.) in Arabic. Awfi had made an extensive use of this book in the compilation of his *Jamiul-Hikayat Wa Lawamiur-Riwayat*. Awfi died sometime about 1235 A.D.

The *Compendium* earned an undying fame for Mohammad Awfi. For more than three hundred and fifty years after his death, he was mentioned by the later writers as the compiler of the *Jamiul-Hikayat Wa Lawamiur-Riwayat* without any reference to his earlier work the *Lubabul-Albab*. Hamdullah Mustawfi Qazwini, the author of *Tarikhe-Guzidah* (composed 1330 A.D.), Saifuddin Aqili the writer of *Atharul-Wazra* (composed 1427 A.D.) and Qazi Ahmad Ghaffari the author of *Nigaristan* (composed 1501 A.D.) to name only a few, eulogise Mohammad Awfi in their works referring to his *Compendium* alone. It was in 1594 A.D. when the author of *Haft-Aqlim* for the first time mentioned the name of Awfi as the author of *Lubabul-Albab* as well.

The *Jamiul-Hikayat Wa Lawamiur-Riwayat* consists of four parts, each containing twenty-five chapters. The first part is singularly rich in biographical anecdotes, some of which deserve special attention. The second and third parts contain valuable material of historical importance. The value of the fourth part lies in the mass of scientific informations which it preserves. Awfi refers to over ninety works by their titles, which he had utilised in the preparation of the *Compendium*. Many of the works referred to by Mohammad Awfi were lost forever when the

Mongols invaded Transoxiana and Khorasan and destroyed the libraries of Samarkand, Bokhara, Khwarazm, Baghdad and other centres of learning. The *Compendium* contains as many as two thousand one hundred and thirteen anecdotes and well deserves the title of an ocean of anecdotes.

The chief value of the *Jamiul-Hikayat Wa Lawamiat-Riwayat* lies as M. Nizamuddin in his scholarly work "Introduction to the *Jamiul-Hikayat Wa Lawamiat-Riwayat of Muhammad Awfi*", points out, in that "while others were writing systematic accounts of persons, places, periods and sciences, Mohammad Awfi selected the whole mass of recorded and unrecorded knowledge as his material and preserved it in detached anecdotes Hitherto different works had been written on different subjects, but there was not one collection of this type, written in Persian language representing the history, civilisation, literature and science known to the Muslim world."

The style of the *Compendium* unlike that of the *Lubabul-Albab* is simple, free from ineffective use of metaphors, similes and word-plays. Simplicity of style is in fact one of the characteristic features of this work. Awfi's mastery over the pen reaches the highest degree of attainments in the *Jamiul-Hikayat Wa Lawamiat-Riwayat*. Another beauty of the work lies in the fact that throughout the voluminous *Compendium*, Mohammad Awfi has remained faithful in recording the anecdotes from whatever sources he obtained them, without attempting to add to any of them anything of his own invention or omit something of less interest. The work has become a monument of classical Persian Prose and made its author 'Mohammad Awfi immortal in the history of Persian literature.

The Mughal Navy and its Weakness

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The earliest extant evidence of Indian shipping is to be gleaned from the great finds of the splendid city of Mahenjodaro. From that time till 12th century A.D. India had a long and continuous tradition of maritime activities. The overseas expansions of India was not only maintained but accelerated and expanded in many directions reaching the pinnacle of glory in the 9th and 10th centuries and continuing up to 12th century A.D. From thence onwards India's colonial and maritime activities gradually declined until it practically disappeared in the 16th century A.D. Vasco da Gama's arrival at Calicut in 1489 marked the beginning of India's eventual total eclipse from the naval field.

In the Mughal period, merchant shipping was encouraged, no doubt, but the navy as a fighting force was woefully neglected with the far reaching consequences for the whole of the country during the latter half of the 18th century. From the date of Vasco da Gama's arrival right up to the 18th century, Kunja Ali III the commander-in-chief of the Zamorin kings of Calicut, Shivaji and Kanhoji Angre, chief admiral of the Maratha Navy put in a very stubborn fight in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries respectively against the foreign invaders of India, while the Mughals utterly failed in this regard and they except in a few cases in Eastern India (mainly Bengal and Assam) neglected their naval force.

In the chronicles of the Mughals interesting descriptions of ships built in Bengal, Kashmir and Lahore are available and the Mughal school of Arts has numerous paintings of different types of ships testify to the high standard of technological perfection. But it is to be noted that only in Bengal where cavalry was of little use, the Mughal Navy played a conspicuous part in sup-

pressing the Bhuiyas and in extending the Mughal frontier as far as Chittagong. The credit for such achievements should go to the individual Mughal Viceroys like Islam Khan, Mir Jumla and Shaista Khan rather than the Mughal emperors. Of the Mughal emperors only Babar and Akbar seem to have taken a keen interest in building a naval force. To Babar credit should go for laying the foundation of the Navy as a fighting force and it was Akbar who developed it considerably. But the same interest was not evinced by other Mughal emperors and whose neglect of this important branch of Military department proved in the long run disastrous for the empire.

Previous to Akbar's reign, we hear little of any naval department so to say, although we have references to two naval expeditions of Babar, the one in 1528 A.D. when the latter fought a naval battle on the Ganges near Kanauj with the Rajputs. In this battle, 40 of the enemy's boats fell into the hands of the Mughals. That Babar was conscious of the importance of a naval force and his sense of naval strategy can be gleaned from the pages of his Memoirs. He also fought another naval battle on the Gogra in 1529 with the Afghans in which the latter had collected about 150 boats and offered Babar a naval encounter. (For details, see Lyden's trans. of Babar's Memoirs—pp. 408-16.)

Babar possessed a large number of boats (420) but it does not appear that they were all war-boats. At the time of crossing the Indus (20th March 1519) he collected 6 boats and "put men-on-foot over them". He appointed a few officers like pay-masters, "diwan" "6 or 7 being put in command to take charge of the boats" (Babar's Memoirs-trans. by Mrs. Beveridge—p. 451). He had no trained sailors and naval officers and he himself admits that while he was proceeding towards eastern provinces a report to the effect that "the Bengalis were coming" had struck his sailors with so much fear that he had to call a council of war. (Lyden—p. 413.)

Babar took a great delight in water sports and spent many a night on boats. And on several occasions, in his Memoirs he mentions his past-times, thus, "We dropped anchor and for a while remained stationary in the midst of the river . . . that night we slept in the boat and towards the morning returned to the camp" (ibid pp. 260, 415). Doubtless, Babar had a fancy for boats and some of them bore fanciful names. The boat he specially built before his war with the Rajputs, he called it 'Asaish' (the Repose). His craftsman Araish Khan had built a special boat and presented it to him as a *peshkash*. Among his other boats, the 'Araish' (the Elegant), 'Gunjaish' (the Capacious) and the 'Farqaish' (the

Envoy) could be mentioned as specially decorated vessels. Some of his boats were furnished with artillery. But Babar had no mariners or sailors in his service on a permanent basis and had to recruit them in course of voyages. He admits that at the time of his war with the Afghans (in Bihar), his craftsmen Mir Muhammad was often sent to collect boatmen and other requisites for constructing bridges and to take boats forcibly wherever found (Mrs. Beveridge, 599). It would not be wrong to suppose that Babar although interested in building boats, could not organise any naval department for the purpose of naval warfare or for the defence of the coastal regions.

The next emperor Humayun was no less interested in boats and he had to his credit some curious contrivances. He employed in his service a number of carpenters called 'Najjars' imported from abroad and got constructed 4 special boats and set them afloat on the Jumna. These boats were provided with bazars and shops and often the emperor sailed in them from Delhi to Agra with courtiers. There was such a bazar afloat on the Jumna that "one could have whatever he liked". But he also like his father failed to make arrangements for having a regular supply of trained mariners and naval fighters, although in one respect he advanced a step further by keeping his boats filled with provisions for the soldiers and with labourers for the construction of bridges of boats in readiness. Both Babar and Humayun may be regarded as pioneers of the Mughal navy which received a proper attention from Akbar.

With the extension of the Mughal frontiers to the eastern provinces by the second half of the 16th century and the consequent hostilities with the Bengal's chiefs who were strong in naval force, it became incumbent upon the Mughal government to organise a naval force. Moreover, a naval establishment in that region was necessitated by the depredations of the Magh-Feringhi sea-rovers who constituted a perpetual menace to Mughal rule and peace in Bengal . . . Besides, a department of admiralty was considered useful by Akbar for the benefit of the country in general as it furnished means of obtaining things of value, provided for agriculture and the emperor's household. Hence Akbar's government gave a great impetus to the naval department and as a matter of fact an imperial naval establishment was founded in Bengal known as the 'Nawara'.

For the first time, Akbar framed a set of elaborate regulations for the organisation of this department or Admiralty. Akbar's admiralty had, broadly speaking, four functions to perform. (For details, see *Ain*. pp. 289-92.) The first duty was to fit out strong

boats for the purpose of navigation, conveyance of merchandise. The second duty was to impress into the service experienced seamen. The third to appoint experienced, imposing and fearless men with loud voices to look after the rivers, to settle the ferries; and the fourth was in regard to the imposition, realisation and remission of custom duties. The vessels were built of various sizes and the number of sailors in each vessel varied according to its size. The large ships contained the following officers and menials, viz., the 'Nakhuda', the 'Muallim', the 'Tamdil', the 'Nakhuda-kashab', the 'Sirhand', the 'Bhandari', the 'Keranee', the 'Sukangeer', the 'Panjaree', the 'Gumtec', the 'Top-andaz' and the like.

Although boats and ships were collected from many places, it was nowhere other than in Bengal, Kashmir, Masulipatam, Sind and Lahore that sea-going and war-vessels of superior quality were built with the help of carpenters and artificers imported from abroad. Naval batteries were installed and sailors were recruited from the sea faring tribes of Malabar. But even Akbar failed to train up his own men as sailors and naval fighters, as Irvine writes, "There must have been Europeans serving in the capacity of common soldiers and some fugitive sailors from ships lying at Surat and Cambay . . . The emperor impressed the Portuguese either from Goa or from the colonies of that nation settled about the mouth of the Ganges and Brahmaputra" (Mughal Army—p. 172) in the naval department as craftsmen and artillery-men and thus set the precedent of appointing Europeans which was followed by his successors. The result of such foreign recruitment was that the technical leadership of the naval department passed into the christian hands. Along the western and southern coasts of India, the emperor kept stationed war-vessels and numerous large ships, the latter for the purpose of trading and carrying pilgrims to Mecca. Each of these types of ships sometimes carried 1700 passengers.

As regards the War-vessels, it should be noted that so far as Bengal is concerned, the Mughal 'Nawara' constituted a real military force. From the time of Man Singh's viceroyalty in Bengal (1594-1605) down to Shaista Khan, the naval organisation in that Subah was greatly improved and the Nawara fought many a battle defeating one by one all the principal Bhuiyas of Bengal and suppressing the Magh-Feringhi pirates by the occupation of Chittagong in 1666. But on the western and southern coasts of India, the Mughal navy was of no consequence.

Jahangir and Shah Jahan do not appear to have taken such active interest in maintaining the naval force as was expected

of them, although their viceroys in Bengal like Islam Khan and Qasim Khan are found to have been alive to the necessity of strengthening the same. Of course, the maintenance of the floatilla in the province was the work more of the provincial governors than the emperors, because ultimately they were charged with the responsibility of preserving peace and security in the provinces.

Like his father and grand-father, Jahangir had also a fancy for pleasure trips in boats. "Every day I sat in a boat", he often says, "and went to hunt water-fowls and to wonder over the river" (Tuzuk—346). With a view to gaining the Emperor's favours, some European 'Ghurabs' well decorated were presented to him as *Peskash*, by the Dutch, but "it does not seem", observes Roger, that Jahangir would interest himself about foreign ships" (ibid—255).

The Mughal emperors failed to recognise the importance of sea-power. Sea, to them, was a free element and only the protection of the coasts was considered the duty of the state. It is, therefore, absence of necessary attention to sea and sea coasts that was responsible for the downfall of the Mughal empire. The trust on military superiority in land made the Mughals neglect the coastal defence. It is necessary to emphasise that from 1498 when Vasco da Gama with his fleet of war-ships arrived at Calicut, India has ever been under the relentless pressure of sea-power, steady and unseen, over long periods. The history of India from 1500 A.D. to the time of the British conquest, clearly demonstrates the fact that the most organised land power was unable to protect its interests on the sea against maritime power. Since that time, the Portuguese established their control over the Indian ocean. "India's authority over the waters of the Indian ocean vanished from 1503, when at the battle of Cochin, the Portuguese admiral gained what in effect became a decisive victory—a victory more important in its historical consequences than the battle of Trafalgar" (Geographical Factors etc.—p. 64 Panikkar). They were followed by the Dutch and then the English. With the departure of the French admiral Suffren from the East, Britain became the sole mistress of the Indian Ocean. It is to the Albuquerque system that the British reverted.

Due to the absence of an organised naval force on the western and southern coasts, the Mughals were at the mercy of the Europeans like the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English on the high seas. Akbar at the height of his power could not afford protection to the Meccā pilgrims. Even the imperial ships could not proceed to the holy city unless provided with Portuguese and other European maritime nations' passes. In Cambay and Surat,

the Mughals stationed their war-vessels, some of them being more than a 1000 tons burden. In Surat alone, there were more than 100 well-built ships built by the English shipwrights. But these ships dared not venture the sea without European passes and pilots. Dr. Fryer says that the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English used to sell passes under which the Mughal ships were secured from the attacks of the ships belonged to those maritime nations. But these passes could not secure the Mughal ships from the attacks of the pirates both Indian and Europeans (vide, Wheeler, Hist. of India, 11,499-500). Some of the Mughal war-vessels carried 30 or 40 pieces of cannon but "it was more for show than service" (ibid). During the reign of Jahangir, the imperial government had, besides war-vessels, about 900 merchant-men, a large number of frigates, but "they were more useful in creeks and rivers than on the open seas" (ibid).

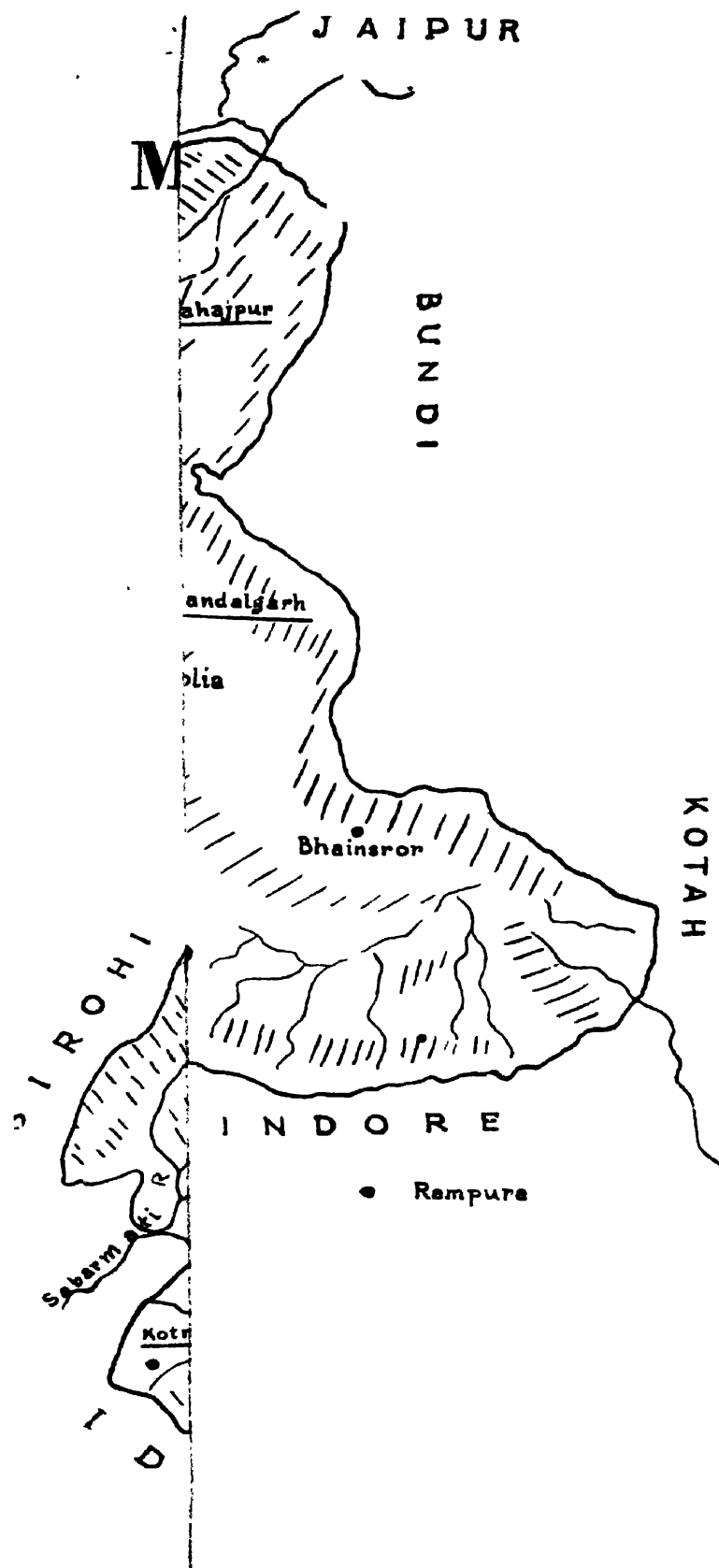
The weakness of the Mughal naval strength and to what extent the Mughals became dependent on the European powers could be cited. In a letter (12th Jan. 1665) the Madras Factors wrote to the Company that "if the Mughals impede us by land, it layeth in our power to teach them a lesson by sea" (E.F.I. 1661-64, p. 401). De Laet writes, "They (the Mughals) are almost powerless on the sea and hence the Portuguese exact tribute from them in their own ports for goods . . . and compell them (including the King's sons) to purchase for huge sums safe conduct from the Spanish King, commonly called pass ports. For these pass ports, 3000, 4000, 5000 and sometimes even 8000 'mamudei' (current coin) are demanded" (The Empire of Great Mogol—116). De Laet further writes that the Portuguese used to supply Shah Jahan with the articles of overseas commerce and inflict upon him various disasters and indignation, "for he has no navy and his subjects are very poor sailors". Manrique attributes the want of efficient navy to the timidity of the Mughals (Vol. II, p. 278). In the time of Shah Jahan there was no navy worth the name. Only on one occasion during his reign, however, the Mughal Nawara fought the Portuguese at Hugli in 1632. It would not be gainsaid to say that the Europeans dreaded more the Maratha navy than that of the Mughals, as Manucci writes, "As soon as we discovered (while proceeding to Goa) that the fleet was not of the Mughals but of Sambhuji, we were very apprehensive and already the master of the vessel and several seamen wanted to jump into the sea" (Storia—II, p. 269), obviously to save themselves from being seized by the Marathas. So it is evident that during the rule of Jahangir and Shah Jahan, the Mughal navy, although played a conspicuous

part in the eastern waters, it constituted no force at all in the western waters.

Aurangzeb was a ruler of different calibre whose imperial overpowering ambition "would not allow any earthly power to defy the Emperor's authority". Hence he took a keen interest in strengthening the naval force. The following two incidents drew his attention to the problem of protecting the sea coasts. In the east, the Arakan fleet had attacked the Mughal Nawara in Dacca waters destroying 160 of them. Aurangzeb asked his viceroy Shaista Khan to take proper steps to improve the naval strength which was completely destroyed in the Assam campaign of Mir Jumla. To the credit of Shaista Khan, the Mughal naval strength in Bengal was greatly augmented and the piracy was suppressed. While in Kashmir, Aurangzeb received a report that one of the imperial ships that was carrying pilgrims to Mecca had been captured by the European privateers. And unfortunately, some of the pilgrims belonged to the imperial harem. "This was the reason", writes Manucci, "of his (Aurangzeb) wishing to create a war navy, to sweep the seas of the pirates and make himself powerful at sea." With this object in view the king imparted his design to Jafar Khan, the chief Secretary, who demanded time before answering. After some days, he said to Aurangzeb that His Majesty had no deficiency of money or timber, or other materials to construct a navy. But he was without the chief thing, that is to say, men to direct it. Aurangzeb replied that the conduct of it might be entrusted to the Franks who lived on his pay. But Jafar Khan . . . replied that "it would not be well to continue to foreigners—fugitives from their own country—a business of such importance. Those men might easily abscond, nor would they think of the Mughal soldiers, who might man the ships, of any account, and these, not being properly trained, would allow themselves to be completely controlled by these commanders. To all these Aurangzeb turned a deaf ear and then issued an order to have a ship constructed. He wanted to have ocular demonstration of the difficulties raised by Jafar Khan. This order was taken to my countryman Ortencio Bronzoni . . . who made a small ship with its sails and rigging, guns and flags. When it was ready it was launched on a great tank. The King and all the court assembled to behold a kind of machine which could not travel by land. Here the European artillerymen accustomed to navigation, went aboard the vessel and caused it to move in all direction by adjusting the sails and working the helm with great dexterity and cleverness. Then, as if engaging some other man-of-war, they discharged the cannon turning in all directions. On seeing all

this, after reflecting on the construction of the boat and the dexterity required in handling it, Aurangzeb concluded that to sail over and fight on the ocean were not things for the people of Hindusthan, but only suited to European alertness and boldness. Thus at last he abandoned the project entertained with such obstinacy". (Storia—11, pp. 45-47.) So it is evident that Aurangzeb also failed to build up a naval force for the defence of the western and southern coasts. In spite of repeated seizure of Mughal ships by the Europeans on the high seas "the Mughal king gave no sign of grievance but rather concealed the insult" (ibid. 1, 63). On many a occasion, despite the highhandedness of the English, Emperor Aurangzeb dared not take extreme measures against them except on one occasion in Bengal in 1680 s. Bruce in his Annals observes, "the real cause why the Emperor granted peace (in his troubles with the English) was that he might continue to avail himself of the protection afforded to his pilgrim ships by the Bombay Marine". (Vide Low, Indian Navy, 1, 60.)

Sea power is ubiquitous. Maham the prophet of indivisible sea took as his text the quotation from Genesis, "And God said, let waters be gathered in one place". The oneness of the sea is an obvious geographical fact and its significance to an area like India, exposed on three sides to pressure from the sea, need not be emphasised. But unfortunately the Mughal government failed to realise this truth and hence fell an easy prey to a small number of European mariners. Their false sense of security used to be centred round the Khyber Pass alone and dimmed their vision about the oceanic dangers.



History of Mewar

From the Earliest Times to 1303 A. D.

G. C. RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

The following pages deal mainly with the Political History of Mewār from the earliest times to 1303 A.D., when the famous fortress of Chitor fell before the onslaught of Ala-ud-din Khalji. Institutional history has been touched upon very briefly. The story of this little principality, watered by the Banās,—the ancient Parnāsā—and buttressed by the Arāvallis, has an abiding interest for us all. It can boast of a dynasty that continues to preside over its affairs from an age when Harsha and Pulakeśin II were still alive. Mewār, the land of the Achillean Kumbhā and of the imperial Sāṅgā, of the noble Pratāpa and of the chivalrous Rājasiṁha, was the bulwark of Hindu culture and the embodiment of Rājput patriotism. The tales of the fair Padminī fired the imagination of Jāyasi, a Muslim contemporary of Sher Shāh. The sweet songs of Mirabāī still evokes stirring sentiment in every devoted heart. The tragedy of princess Kṛishṇā entailed consequences which largely accounted for the status of the land of Bappa and Khummāṇa in the days of British rule in India.

The present monograph opens with an account of the land—its physical aspects and the geographical factors that influenced the course of its history. Much confusion has been caused by the failure to recognise the fact that the early history of Mewār is not the history of Chitor only, and that the political vicissitudes throughout which eastern Mewār passed, present features somewhat different from those we come across in connection with the west, notably the region sheltered by the Arāvallis.

The account of the physical features is followed by glimpses of the territory afforded by literary and archæological records before the advent of the Gñhilas in the seventh century A.D. A systematic chronological survey of the facts of the pre-Guḥḷa

period is, I believe, offered for the first time in the following pages.

In the next chapter I have dealt with the vexed question of the origin of the Guhilas. Here it may be pointed out that I have preferred the name Guhila to the other forms of the clan-name, such as Guhilot, Gauhilya etc. as the form is found in the oldest record giving the dynastic name, e.g., the Udaipur Victoria Hall Inscription of Aparājita dated 661 A.D. The views that have been held by scholars regarding the origin of the family lack unanimity. I have examined the theories adumbrated by a long succession of writers since the days of Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indrajī and I have tried to demonstrate their limitations. Attention has been invited in this connection to the occurrence of the name Guhila in an early inscription found at Ujjain.

In giving the early history of the Guhilas in Mewār down to the eighth century A.D. I have tried to identify the Bappa of tradition and elucidate the relations of his successors with Mālhwā and the Deccan in this early period.

Then follow some of the most interesting episodes in the chequered annals of Mewār when it became the cock-pit of west Indian politics. Gurjaras, Rāshtrakūṭas, Paramāras, Chāhamānas, Chaulukyas fought for ascendancy. Chitrakūṭa-*giridurga* of the Rāshtrakūṭa records, which we have identified with Chitor, in preference to the homonymous spot of sacred tradition near Allahabad, which never figures as a hill fortress in recorded history, now looms large in the scramble for power along with Āghāṭa.

The spirit of Mewār could not brook submission to an external authority for all time, and we have a war of independence begun by Sāmantasimha and later on waged with greatest success by Jaitrasimha. Mewār, which had a well organised administration and a vigorous commercial life already in the tenth century, emerges under Jaitrasimha as a consolidated monarchy, which could have stood aloft but for the hurricane that blew over it early in the fourteenth century, and laid low not only the lofty fortress of the Guhilas, but equally famous strongholds south of the Vindhya. The full import of the momentous reign of Jaitrasimha has been sought to be demonstrated and an attempt has been made to separate the kernel of historical truth from the rank growth of romantic legend that clusters round the Chitor episode of 1303 A.D.

The author of the following pages acknowledges his indebtedness to all previous writers on the subject, notably to scholars like Tod, Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indrajī, Dr. Fleet, Major Erskine, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, MM, Pandit G. H. Ojhā, Dewan Bahadur

C. V. Vaidya, Dr. H. C. Roy, Dr. K. R. Qanungo, Dr. R. C. Majumder, Mr. S. C. Dutt, Mr. R. R. Haldar and Dr. Altekar.

While the present writer is doubtless indebted to his predecessors for some of his facts, their*interpretation and the elucidation of many knotty points may be claimed as new in several respects.

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B.G.	Bombay Gazetteer.
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I.G. (R)	Imperial Gazetteer, Provincial series (Rājputāna).
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
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J.B.B.R.A.S.	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
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Vr.	Verse.

CHAPTER I

THE LAND OF MEWĀR

I

Mewār, the classic land of Guhila chivalry, belongs to the great circle of states which now the extensive State of Rājasthan. It is situated between $23^{\circ}-49'$ and $25^{\circ}-58'$ N. latitude and $37^{\circ}-1'$ and $75^{\circ}-49'$ E. longitude. It is bounded on the north and the north-east by Ajmer-Merwāra, the Shāhpur Chiefship and Jaipur; on the west and the south-west by Jodhpur, Sirohi and Idar; on the south by Dungarpur, Bānswāra, and Pratābgarh. The eastern frontier runs along an irregular line which marks off the state from Bundi, Kotāh and portions of Gwalior, Indore, and Tonk territories.

Before the Marāthā incursions of the eighteenth century the south-eastern limits of the land extended to the river Chambal, and Jāwad, Jīran, Nīmach, Nīmbahera and Rāmpura belonged to it. In the days of Akbar the northern frontier of the state probably ran along the Khāri river. Abul Fazl includes Phūlia (Shāhpura) within the Sarkar of Chitor. A large part of Merwāra consists of villages ceded by the Rāṇā to the Government of India under an administrative arrangement arrived at in 1883. The Sisodiā prince still retains some rights over the area.¹

The hand of nature has split up the state into two well-marked divisions. The northern and the eastern sections consist of a fine undulating country, watered by the Banās and its affluents the Berach and the Kothāri. The south and the west embrace the wildest ridges of the Arāvallis and are entirely covered with masses of rugged rocks and dense forests. These areas, which differ so much in their physical aspects, formed in ancient times distinct political units. In the second century B.C. a flourishing state—that of the Śibis—rose on the table land of the north-east. In the south-west roamed the Nishādas, in all probability the ancestors of the modern Bhīls. The complete unification of the country was achieved by the Guhila princes at a comparatively late period.

The most prominent physical feature of Mewār is the chain of mountain ranges that skirts it on the west, south and partly on the east. The oblique range of the Arāvallis, which has been

identified with *apocopi montes* of Ptolemy² and was regarded as a part of the Pāripātra or Pāriyātra mountain by ancient Indian geographers, occupies the entire western flank of the state. It enters the country near Dewair to the south of Merwāra and continuing in a south-westerly direction attains a wider breadth until "it loses its distinctive formation among hilly wastes" enclosed in the valley of the Som and the Mahī. The whole of the mountaneous country in the south-west is politically known as the Hilly Tracts of Mewār, comprising the two *bhūmats* of Kherwāra and Kotra, inhabited mostly by the Bhīls. Besides the Arāvallis, several minor ranges extend from Jahāzpur in the north-east to the Jākam river in the south-east. The level land near Māndalgarh is styled "Upamāla"³.

The rocky environment generated among the people of Mewār a spirit of independence that left its mark on Indian history. Often did the rulers of the land shut themselves up in the sequestered glens of the Arāvallis and defy the onslaughts of mighty invaders on their life and honour, liberty and religion. The hills on the east constituted an important defensive outwork in that direction. In the centre on an isolated mass of steep rock rising to a height of 500 feet above the surrounding plain, is situated the celebrated fortress of Chitor. At the junction of the three rivers (Tribenī), the Banās, the Kothāri and the Maināl at the southern end of the Central Bundi Range, stands another tower of strength, the famous Mandalgarh, once the pride of the Hādās. The great rocky barrier on the west also affords protection from sand storms of the "Abode of Death" that stretches beyond it as far as Sind, and catches the rain and pours it into the Banās and its tributaries to fertilize the plains of the north-east.

The vulnerability of the state to an attack from the north is apparent, and the power that controlled Ajmer and Ranthambhor could always get easy access to the land of the Guhilas. Several intricate and narrow defiles that break through the mountain wall on the west connect Mewār with Mārswār. The most important of these are Dewair and Desuri passes. The latter is also known as the 'Paglia' Nāl. Rāṇā Kumbhā built the mighty fortress of Kumbhalmer in the very heart of the Arāvallis, to guard these approaches to his fair realm. In the south along the upper course of the river Mahī, which forms the boundary line between Mewār and Dūngarpur and Bānswāra, lies another route of invasion, and the possession of Vāgaḍa (the combined territory of Dūngarpur and Bānswāra) was regarded as vital for the safety of their respective kingdoms by the lords of Chitor and Māṇḍū.

A network of rivers and brooks spreads over the entire land of Mewār. The principal stream is the Banās which has been identified with the Parṇāśā of the epics and the Purāṇas. Rising near the fort of Kumbhalmer it flows southward until it reaches the vicinity of Gogūnda, when it takes an easterly turn and bursts into the open country. After a course of about 180 miles it leaves the land near the Deoli Cantonment in Ajmer. The two chief tributaries of the Banās within Mewār are the Berach and the Kothāri. The former glides past Ahār (Āghāṭa) and Udaipur, the ancient and the modern capitals of the Guhilas respectively. Running in an easterly direction it eventually empties itself into the Banās near Māṇḍalgarh after skirting the western environs of Chitor. The Kothāri rises near Dewair and flows almost due east before its junction with the Banās. Among the other rivulets mention may be made of the Khāri in the north, the Som and its branch the Jākam in the south, and the Wākal, a tributary of the Sabarmatī in the south-west.

The river system afforded great facility for irrigation and contributed largely to the prosperity of the state. Large tracts of comparatively unproductive soil have also been brought under cultivation by erecting magnificent dams round vast sheets of water which go by the name of Samand (Samudra) or Sāgara. The finest of these are the Dhebar or Jai Samand, the Rāj Samand, the Udai-sāgar, the Pichola, and the Fatehsāgar.¹

II

The land described above does not find any clear mention in the Vedic literature. References are, however, made to *Dhanvan* (desert) which may refer to the desert of western Rājasthan, and to the Matsyas and the Nishādas. The former occupied the Jaipur and the Bharatpur region² which is situated to the north of Mewār. A section of the latter are associated in one passage of the Mahā-bhārata with the Pāriyātra mountain³ which as already stated, has been identified with the Western Vindhya together with the Arāvallis. In view of all these it is not altogether improbable that even in those early times, some knowledge of the territory of the Guhilas was already gained.

The Sūtra works show a closer acquaintance with Western India. We hear of realms like Avanti, Surāshṭra, Sindhu and Sauvīra⁴. The Dharma-Sūtra of Bodhāyana contains an express reference to Pāriyātra as forming the boundary line between Āryāvarta and the land of mixed races and barbarians.⁵ We will not be far wrong if we surmise that about this time the wild

mountainous region of Western Mewār was explored by some adventurous spirits from the Madhyadeśa.

During the age represented by the epics the veil of darkness was further lifted. The Rāmāyaṇa not only alludes to the mountain (Pāripātra) on the west, but speaks of the Parṇāsā (i.e., the Banās) as the best of the rivers (Parṇāsāṁ nadīnam-uttamāṁ nadīm).⁹ The Mahābhārata includes the Pāriyātra among the Kolaparvatas, and refer to the Parṇāsā as a Mahānadī.¹⁰ More interesting are the references in the Greater Epic to the territory of Madhyamikā (tathā Madhyamakeyāṁścha Vāṭa-dhānān dvijānatha), i.e., the Chitor and the Nāgari region, and a Nishāda settlement on the hilly region of the west.¹¹

The Vassantara Jātaka mentions a city called Jetuttara in the kingdom of the Śivis, which Cunningham is inclined to identify with Madhyamikā. N. L. Dey suggests that it might be the same as 'Jattaraur' of Alberuni, the capital of 'Maiwar'.¹²

The literary references cited above do not admit of a definite chronological arrangement. But all of them must be dated before the fifth century A.D., when the Mahābhārata is quoted as a Śata-sāhasrī Samhitā and the Jātakas were commented on by scholars. The existence of a Sivi Kingdom called Madhyamikā in eastern Mewār in the second century B.C. is proved by several coins with the inscription Majhamikāya-Śibi-janapadasa (of the janapada of the Sivis) which have been discovered at Chitor and Nāgari.¹³ The scholiast on Pāṇini, who is usually regarded as a contemporary of Pushyamitra (c. 187-150 B.C.) also refer to it.¹⁴

The designation 'Sibi-janapada' must have fallen into disuse ere long. The name Mewār, the vernacular form of the word Medapāṭa, is evidently derived from the Meda tribe.¹⁵ We do not know when it became current. The Medas find mention in the Manu Samhitā,¹⁶ but the period of their settlement within the boundaries of Mewār is not known to us. A possible reference to the Meda territory is contained in the following passage of the Bṛihat Samhitā of Varāhamihira.¹⁷

Bhadrāri-Meda-Māṇḍavya-Sālva-Nīpojjiḥāna-saṁkhyātāḥ

Maru-Vatsa-Ghosha-Yāmuna-Sārasvata-Matsya-Mādhyamikāḥ

It is interesting to note that Varāhamihira distinguishes Meda from Madhyamikā. If the territory is to be located within the borders of Mewār then it is likely that it was situated on the north-western part of the state. The Kumbhalgarh Praśasti draws a distinction between Āghāṭa and Medapāṭa, and associates the Medas with Vardhamāna or Vardhana, modern Badnor in the north-west of Mewār.¹⁸ The earliest epigraphic reference to the name Medapāṭa occurs in the Bijāpur inscription of 1053 V.S.

(997 A.D.)¹⁹ The vernacular form of it was known to Alberuni and to the author of the *Kumārikākhaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa*²⁰

The state expanded gradually under the rule of Jaitrasimha (c. 1213 c. 1250 ?) and the early princes of the Sisodiā branch of the Guhila dynasty, who came to the throne after the sack of Chitor by Ala-ud-din Khalji. We learn from the *Kumbhalgarh Prasasti* that Jaitrasimha not only ruled over the home district, viz., Āghāṭa, but also exercised sway over Chitrakūṭa (Chitor) in the east and Medāpaṭa proper (probably the land of the Medas) in the north west.²¹ The latter region was not, however, finally annexed to the Guhila territory till the coming of the Sisodiās in the fourteenth century. Hammira who was one of the earliest rulers of that branch, conquered Chelavāṭa (modern Jhilwāra) from the Bhīls, and his grandson Lākhā took Vardhana or Vardhamāna (modern Bandor) from the Medas. The eastward movement for expansion beyond the upper reaches of the Branch and the Banās (in Mewār) was started by Kshetrasimha. He destroyed Māṇḍalgarh and is represented as having conquered the land of the Hāḍās.²² The wild hilly region to the south was included within the kingdom of Vāgaḍa till the middle of the thirteenth century. The village Jhādola, which lies near the Jai Samand (the Dhebar Lake) is expressly mentioned as being situated within the limits of that territory.²³ The conquest of the Chhappan District (in southern Mewār) is ascribed by Tod to Kshetrasimha.²⁴ It seems that at the close of thirteenth century the boundaries of Mewār extended from Arāvallis on the west to the Banās, the Berach and the hill ranges to the east of Chitor in the east, and from the valley of the Kothāri in the north to that of the Gomati, an affluent of the Som, in the south.

¹ Tod, III, 1660, 1663; Āin, II, 274; I.G. (R), 116, 313; Hist. Raj., I, 305n.

² I.G. (R), 90.

³ Hist. Raj., I, 306n.

⁴ The above account has been compiled from Erskine's *Rājputāna Gazetteer (Mewār)*; Imperial Gazetteer (*Rājputāna*), Ojha's *History of Rājputāna*, Vol. I.

⁵ Vedic Index, I, 389; P.H.A.I. (4), 56; A.I.T., 61.

⁶ Mbh. Śānti, 135, vv, 3 & 5.

⁷ S. I. A., 57.

⁸ S. I. A., 129.

⁹ Laṅkā, XXVI, 39 & 42.

¹⁰ Bhishma, IX, 11 & 31.

¹¹ Sabhā 32, 8; Car. Lec. (1918), 173 n.

¹² Geographical Dictionary, pp. 81, 178 f., Sachau, Alberuni, I, 202.

¹³ C. A. I., p. cxxiv.

¹⁴ I. A., 1872, p. 300.

¹⁵ Hist. Rāj., I, 305 n.

¹⁶ X, 36 & 48.

¹⁷ XIV, 2.

¹⁸ E. I., XXI, pp. 278, 280.

¹⁹ E. I., X, p. 20.

²⁰ Sachau, Alberuni's India, I, 202; Skanda, (Kumārikā), XXXIX, 140; H. M. H. I., II, 41.

²¹ E. I., XXIV, pp. 313, 325.

²² Cf. Śringi Rishi Inscription of Mokala (E. I., XXIII, 231 ff); Kumbhalgarh Praśasti (E. I., XXI, 278); Rānpur or Sādaḍī inscription (Arch. Sur. Rep., 1907-08, 214 ff).

²³ Cf. Jhādola Śiva Temple inscription of V.S. 1308 (Hist. Rāj., III, Part I, 2 n).

²⁴ Tod, I., 312; Hist. Rāj., III, Part I, p. 3.

CHAPTER II

MEWĀR BEFORE THE RISE OF THE GUHILAS

For the earliest phase of the history of any territory in northern India—barring some pre-historic sites in the Indus Valley—we have to depend almost entirely on literary evidence. Unfortunately it is difficult to date some of the most important works of this literature even approximately. All that is possible to do is to attempt a chronological arrangement on the basis of geographical data, evolution of ideas and institutions in respect of religious, social, political and economic life, and references in some of the works to a body of literature which they find already in existence. From these considerations scholars have come to the conclusion that the earliest literary stratum is formed by the hymns of the Ṛig Vedic collection and the strata coming next in point of time are represented by (a) the later Vedic texts, (b) the Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist Sūtras and the early epic whose geographical horizon is in the main still limited to the territory between the Himālayas and the Godāvarī,¹ and (c) the later epic, the metrical legal codes and the Paurāṇic traditions which show acquaintance with countries lying to the south of the Godāvarī and also lands beyond the seas and mountains like Yavadvīpa (Java) Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra) and China.²

While a stratification of the literature useful for our purpose is comparatively easy, it is more difficult to assign to each stratum a definite date in our chronological scheme. We can only say that the Vedic Canon in its essentials is already complete by the time of the Buddha and Pāṇini (possibly not later than the fifth century B.C.);³ that literature of the second stratum is in some respects coëval with the rise of Magadha, of the Buddhist reformation and the beginnings of contact with the Yavanas (Greeks);⁴ To the third stratum can hardly be assigned a date before more intimate contact was established with the Yavanas and Pahlavas (Parthians) in the west, and the countries of eastern and south-eastern Asia⁵. For the sake of convenience we shall call the period represented by the Ṛik hymns and the later Vedic texts as the Vedic Age and the period indicated by the later literary strata as the early post-Vedic Age.

Literature of the Vedic period does not contain any clear reference to the territory of Mewār. We may therefore hold that it was outside the pale of Aryandom. Some light is thrown upon the country and its people by several texts of the early post-Vedic Age. We have already seen that according to the Bodhāyana Dharma-Sūtra the Pāriyātra region, which included a part of Mewār, lay on the border of the land of the pure Aryans and that of the mixed races (*śukrīṇa yonayah*)⁶. Some idea of the ethnic affinity of the original inhabitants of the area may perhaps be derived from epic traditions. The Mahābhārata, for instance, refers to the Nishādas as roaming in the wilds of the Pāriyātra.⁷ There is reason to believe that a section of this ancient tribe is in all probability represented by the Bhīls who constitute the largest element of the population of Mewār.⁸ The Commentator Mahīdhara apparently thought the two folks as identical.⁹ In the Padma Purāṇa their origin is traced to a common ancestor.¹⁰ There is a close resemblance in their features, habits and location. In the Vishṇu Purāṇa the Nishādas are described as "of the complexion of a charred stake, with flattened feature and dwarfish stature." We learn from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa that they were "black like crows, very low statured, short armed, having high cheek bones, low-topped nose, red eyes and copper-coloured hair."¹¹ The modern Bhīls have retained many of these characteristics. They are "small, dark, broad-nosed, and ugly, but well built and active".¹² The Nishādas took delight in hunting. The Bhīls also show much proficiency in archery and are given to killing animals. It has been already pointed out that the Mahābhārata connects the Nishādas with the Pāriyātra region. The same locality is now one of the great centres of the Bhīl population.¹³

Another ancient tribe which lived within the borders of Mewār was probably the Medas, from whom the territory takes its current name. In a passage of the Mahābhārata reference is made to several outcaste tribes, namely, the Kshudras, the Vaidehakas and the Andhras etc. The commentator Nilakanṭha seems to equate the Kshudras with the Medas.¹⁴ The first undoubted mention of the latter people is found in the tenth chapter of the Manu Saṁhitā which deals with mixed castes. The particular passage, when read with commentaries, suggests that the Medas were born of Vaidehaka father and Nishāda mother.¹⁵ This perhaps indicates a close association between the Medas and the Nishādas. The Āngiras Saṁhitā and the Vyāsa Saṁhita group the former with peoples like the Bhīls and the Kirātas and several other folks in the lower rung of the Indian society.¹⁶ The Medas

dwelt outside villages and lived by hunting¹⁷. They are possibly represented in modern times by the Mers and Minas. Along with the Nishādas and the Medas we have perhaps to mention another people, namely, the Nāgas, whose presence in Mewār, in the opinion of some scholars, is suggested by such place name as Nāgahrada (Nāgdā). Mewār tradition avers that the city was built by the Guhila prince Nāga. Neṣṣī tells us that it derives its appellation from the fact that the famous king Parikshit performed here the snake sacrifice.¹⁸ The modern critic fails to find sober history in such tales. But it may be reminiscent of an actual connection of the Nāga people with western Mewār. It is, however, possible that the expression 'Nāga' refers to the water-spirits who give their names to so many springs and fountains in Kāsmir.¹⁹

There are indications already in the epic of the growth of more civilised communities within the state by the side of the hunting tribes mentioned above. We learn from the Mahābhārata that Nakula, the fourth Pāṇḍva prince, conquered the inhabitants of Madhyamikā. We have no details in the book itself which may enable us to find out the tribal affinity of this people. They are distinguished from a number of other folks amongst whom the Śivis are included. cf. —

tān-Ḍaśārjān-sa-jitvā-cha-pratasthe-Pāṇḍunandanah
 Śivīm-s Trigartān-Ambashṭhān-Mālavān-paṇcha-karpatān
 tathā-Mādhyamakeyamścha-Vāṭadhān-dvijānatha
 puṇaścha-parivṛityātha-Pushkarāraṇyavāsinaḥ

(Mbh. Sabhā. XXXII. 7-8)

Numismatic evidence however points to a close connection between Madhyamikā and the Śivis, and there can be no doubt that by the second century B.C. the period to which the coins in question are assigned—if not from a still earlier age, the Śivis are found in occupation of Madhyamikā.

The Mahābhārata again associates a king called Śrutāyudha, who fought in the battle of Kurukshetra, with the river Parnāsā²⁰. We do not know where he ruled. As part of the stream flows through Mewār the possibility of the location of the territory of Śrutāyudha within the boundary of that kingdom can not be entirely excluded.

Proof of the antiquity of Mewār is furnished not only by literary references to which attention has been invited above but also by archaeological research. Numerous punch-marked silver coins have been discovered at Nāgari, a few miles north of Chitor in eastern Mewār. Allan brings to notice the fact that similar coins are found widely distributed over "the most important and

thickly populated parts of ancient India". He adduces reasons for assigning them to the Mauryan epoch.²¹ If his views are accepted then inference becomes legitimate that eastern Mewār, if not the entire state, was included within the limits of the great Mauryan Empire. This conclusion does not seem to be implausible when we remember that Aśokan edicts have been found at Bairāt, and a Maurya prince ruled in Ujjayinī. The position of eastern Mewār is midway between these two places. Maurya rule in the Kotāh state (to the east of Mewār) can be traced as late as the eighth century A.D.²² Some scholars believe that the name Maurya survives in that of the traditional Moris, with whom a ruler of Mewār is supposed to have come into contact in historic times.²³ Local traditions associate Samprati, grandson of Aśoka, with the Kumbhalmer and the Jahāzpur regions. According to Tod temple erected to Mahāvīra by that prince still existed in his days.²⁴

After the disruption of the Maurya Empire Madhyamikā in eastern Mewār seems to have become the capital of a janapada of the Śivis. Reference has already been made to their coins with the inscriptions "Majhamikāya-Śibi-janapadasa" which have been found at Chitor and Nāgarī and have been assigned by scholars to the second century B.C.²⁵ In the same century Madhyamikā had to stand a siege by the Yavanas or Greeks as we learn from the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali.²⁶ It is not clear if this event happened during the period of Śivi rule or before the advent of that tribe.

It is well known that a people called Śiva finds mention in the R̥gveda, and the Siboi figure among Alexander's opponents in the Punjab in the latter half of the fourth century B.C. The pressure of Greek inroads may have displaced the Siboi or the Śivis of the Punjab as they did the Malloi or the Mālavas, who are found in eastern Rājputāna and countries lying further to the south in the second century B.C. and in subsequent ages.²⁷ Tarn believes that it was the Greeks themselves who transplanted the Śivis from the Punjab to Rājputāna. He attributes the deed to Apollodotus.²⁸ The analogy of events in the last decade of the twelfth century A.D. however suggests that it was not with the assistance of foreign rulers but by the pressure exerted by their inroads that the Śivis and the Mālavas had to seek refuge in Rājputāna as certain Rājput clans of the eastern Punjab and the Gangetic Doab retired to Rathambhor and Biṭhu in the days of the Ghurid conquerors and their successors.

Regarding the results of the Greek attack on Madhyamikā we know little. If the Mālāvikāgnimitram is to be believed they

suffered a defeat at the hands of the prince Vasumitra, grandson of Pushyamitra and son of Agnimitra who held court at Vidiśā in eastern Mālwa.²⁹ The evidence of Strabo suggests that for a time they held the entire seaboard of western India down to Surāshṭra or Kāthiawār.³⁰ Coins bearing the names of Apollodotus and Menander were current in the bazars of Barygaza (Broach) at the mouth of the Narmadā as late as the time of the *Periplus* (first century A.D.).³¹ Several coins of these two Greek kings have also been found in the Mewār territory.³² Their presence may be accounted for by the advance of Greek forces to Madhyamikā. It may also be due in part to commercial intercourse. Eventually Greek ascendancy seems to have been destroyed partly by the uprising of the indigenous powers of western India and partly by fresh hordes of invaders who came from Central Asia.

We do not know when the Greek military occupation or political ascendancy in parts of Rājputāna and adjoining regions came to an end. Several fragments of inscriptions connected with Hāthibādā at Nāgari and Ghosundī in Mewār have brought to light the fact that sometime in the second or first century B.C. the Madhyamikā region was included within the dominion of a king called Sarvatāta.³³ He belonged to the Gajāyana family, and was the son of a lady of the Parāśara gotra. He is further styled a performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice which in this epoch possibly points to a sovereign status. The king was a devotee of Vāsudeva and Saṃkarshaṇa. Suggestions have been offered identifying him with a Kāṇva prince but no convincing evidence is forthcoming in favour of this theory.³⁴

For the seven centuries that follow our information is very meagre. We learn from the inscription of Ushavadāta that his father-in-law, the western satrap Nahapāna (usually assigned to the first quarter of second century A.D.) held sway over an extensive territory which stretched from the Pushkara in the north to the Marāṭhā country in the south.³⁵ Ushavadāta led an expedition against the Malayās (Mālavas) who at this time probably occupied a part of the Jaipur territory which was almost contiguous to Mewār.^{35a} Hence it is not unlikely that this state was included within the dominion of the great Satrap. We do not know whether the house of Chastana also had anything to do with the land. Rudradāman (c. 130-105 A.D.) claims to have extended his control over Maru and the Nishādas,³⁶ but the exact location of the latter in this period is not certain.

As has been already noted above some scholars are inclined to believe that a part of Mewār passed under the rule of Nāga princes who loomed large in the history of India before the rise

of the imperial Guptas and the city of Nāgahrada (Nāgdā) it is assumed, derives its name from this ruling tribe. We learn from the Kumbhalgarh Praśasti that Takshaka, the king of the serpents, built the city of Nāganagara.³⁵ This too may point to a similar conclusion. But the derivation of the name Nāgahrada may also be connected with the water spirits known as Nāga.

The historic Nāgas of Central India and the Doāb were brought under sujugation by the imperial Guptas, who extended their power to the Chambal, Mālwa and Gujarāt, but we have no direct evidence to show that Mewār enjoyed the blessings of the peaceful rule of those emperors. The references in the Allahabad Praśasti to the submission of tribes like the Mālavas and the Ābhiras who lived close to the valley of the Banās on the south and the west make it possible that Mewār too was brought under the Gupta sphere of influence. Gold coins of the Guptas have been found within the territory.³⁸ This, of course, does not prove the rule of the power that issued them, but taken along with the references to the surrounding peoples like the Ābhiras, Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas etc. may point to political or economic connection with the Gupta empire. A southern contemporary of the imperial Guptas, the Kadamba prince Mayuraśarmaṇ, who may be assigned to the beginning of the fourth century A.D., claims to have defeated the Pāriyātrikas.^{36a} But it is impossible to say whether these may refer to the inhabitants of the Mewār. Somadeva, a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, tells us that the Hūṇas penetrated into the interior of India as far as Chitrakūṭa.³⁹ This place may refer to the sacred spot of that name near Allahābād. But the possibility of its identification with Chitor is not entirely excluded.

An inscription, dated c. 491 A.D. which has been discovered two miles from Chotī Sādhī indicates that towards the close of the fifth century A.D. south eastern Mewār was ruled by a prince named Yaśagupta of the Gaura Kshatriya family.⁴⁰ It records the following genealogy:—Dhānyasoma, his son Rājyavardhana, his son Rāshṭra, and his son Yaśogupta, who was very charitable and performed sacrifices. The Gaura Maharājā constructed a temple for the spiritual welfare of his parents.

The Mandāsoṛ inscription of the time of Yaśodharman who ruled in 532-33 A.D. informs us that Abhayadatta was the Rājasthānīya of the province bounded by the Vindhya, the Pāriyātra and the Sindhu.⁴¹ It has been suggested that Sindhu may stand for the ocean or the river of the same name in Central India.⁴² If the last interpretation is accepted then it seems that the whole of south eastern Rājputāna extending from the Arāvallis to the

Kālisindhu came within the territorial jurisdiction of the afore-said ruler. In any case Mewār seems to have formed part of the dominion over which Yaśodharman claims to have held sway. His court poet credits him with the conquest of the whole territory between the Himālayas and the Mahendra (Eastern Ghāts) and from the western ocean to the Brahmaputra.⁴³

Towards the close of the sixth century A.D. Prabhākara-vardhana of Thāneśwar is said to have waged war on the Gurjaras, the Lāṭas and the Mālavas.⁴⁴ If the Gurjaras of this passage refer to the Ku-che-lo of Hiuen Tsang⁴⁵ located in western Rājputāna and if the Mālavas were situated in Mālwā, armies marching from Thāneśwar may have overrun the territory of Mewār. It is interesting to note that a king of Mewār in the seventh century A.D. whose date falls within the reign period of Prabhākara's son Harsha, bore the name Śīlāditya—an appellation that was assumed by the great emperor.⁴⁶ But as the name Śīlā(ditya) occurs also in the genealogical lists of the Guhilas, the Śīlāditya of the Sāmoli inscription of Mewār is taken to have been a local Guhila prince. Whether the family at this time had any political or cultural connection with Śīlāditya of Thāneśwar can not be determined. With the Guhila Śīlāditya, however, we enter upon a new epoch.

(According to the author of the Chāchnāma, Maharat, brother of Rai-Sahasi of Sind, was the king of Chitor in the early part of the seventh century A.D.⁴⁷ But the book is so full of legendary material that it is difficult in the absence of external corroboration to accept its statement as authentic.)

¹ E. H. D., p. 11 (reference to Kālinga); Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 30 (colony on the upper Godāvarī).

² Rām. Kish, XI, 30; XLI, 9, 12; 14-20 etc.; XLIII, 12; Manu, X, 44; Mārkaṇḍeya, LVII, 39, 45.

³ Cf. Pāṇini, IV, 3, 105; E. H. V. S., p. 26; Winternitz, Hist. of Sans. Lt., Vol. I. p. 27.

⁴ Rām, Ādi, XIII, 26; Mbh. Sabhā, XIX, 10-11; Hopkins, Great Epic, pp. 391, 393; Pāṇini, IV, 1, 49; E. H. V. S., p. 28; Gautama Saṃhitā, IV, Majjhima-Nikāya, 11, 149.

⁵ Cf. foot-note 2.

⁶ "Prāgadarsanāt pratyak Kālakavanād dakshinena Himavan-tam Udak Pāriyātram (1.1.25), S. I. A., 129 n.

⁷ Cf. Santi, 135.

Nishādyām Kshatriyājñātaḥ Kshatradharmānupālakaḥ
Kāyavyo nāma Naishādirddasyutvāt siddhimāptavān /3/
Aranye sāyam purvāhne mṛigayūthaprakopitā
Vidhijñō mṛigajātīnām Naishādānāṅcha kovidah (4)
Sarvakālapradeśajñāḥ Pāriyātracharah sadā /5/

⁸ Census of India (1931), XXII (Rājputāna), p. 129; I.G. (R), 179.

- ⁹ A. I. T., p. 61.
- ¹⁰ Nishādāścha Kirātaścha Bhillā-nāhalakāstathā
Bhramarāścha Pulindāścha ye chānya mlechchhajātayah
—Padma, II.28.45.
- ¹¹ Vishṇu, I.13.34. Bhāgavata, IV.14.44. Chanda, Indo-Aryan
Races, p. 5.
- ¹² I. G. (R), p. 87; Chanda, *ibid.*, p. 6.
- ¹³ I. G. (R), p. 86.
- ¹⁴ Mbh. Anu. XLVIII, 25 (Kshudro Vaidehakād-Andhro
vahirgrānapratiśrayah).
Nishādya Vaidehakāt Kshudro Medaḥ Andhraścha āraṇya-
paśubhiṃsakau. Kārāvarākhyāścharmakāraścheti trayo
bhavantiyarthah (Nīlakaṇṭha).
- ¹⁵ Kārāvaro Nishādattu charmakārah prasūyate.
Vaidehakād Andhra = Medau vahirgrāma pratiśrayau
(X. 36).
- ¹⁶ Āṅgiras, I.3; Vvāsa, I.10-12.
- ¹⁷ Manu, X. 48.
- ¹⁸ Hist. Rāj., I, 402; Ray, D. H. N. I, II, 116; Nep̄sī, Khyāta,
p. 14.
- ¹⁹ J. A. S. B., (Extra No.), p. 32.
- ²⁰ Droṇa, XC, 44.
Varuṇasyātmaḥ virah sa tu rājā śrutāyudhaḥ.
Parnāśā janani yasya śītatoṇṇā mahānādī.
- ²¹ C. A. I., pp. lv-lviii, lxxi.
- ²² Cf. Kanaswa Inscription of Śivagaṇa which refers to his
friend king Dhavala of the Maurya family (I.A.XIX, p. 57 ff).
- ²³ Tod, I., 265 n; Rāj. Gaz. (Mewār) by Erskine, p. 14; Hist.
Rāj., I. 412 f.
- ²⁴ I.G.(R), 139; E. H. I., 202 n.
- ²⁵ C. A. I., cxxivf.
- ²⁶ Arunad Yavano Madhyamikām (Sutra, III, 2, 111).
Goldstucker, Pāṇini, pp. 176, 177 n; I. A., 1872, 300.
- ²⁷ Smith, Catalogue of Coins, 161 ff., 170.
- ²⁸ Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, pp. 151, 170.
"The only explanation of a settlement of Śibi at Madhya-
mikā as early as the middle of the second century B.C. must have
been that it was made by Apollodotus."
- ²⁹ P. H. A. I., 309, 316.
- ³⁰ Strabo (Hamilton and Falconer), II, 253-45; P. H. A. I., 317;
Tarn, G. B. I., 147.
- ³¹ Periplus (Schoff), 41 f; G. B. I., 149.
- ³² I. G. (R), 13; Hist. Rāj., I, 327.
- ³³ (Kāritoyam rājñā Bhāgavatena Gājāyanena Paraśarīputreṇa
(Sarvatātena Aśvamedha yā)jinā bhagava(d)bhyām Saṃkar-
shaṇa-Vāsudevābhyām
(anīhatābhyām sarveśvarā)bhyām pūjāśilā-prākāro Narayaṇa
vāṭikā) E.I. xxii.
- ³⁴ E. I., XXII, 205.
- ³⁵ E. I., VIII, 78; Rapson, Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, pp.
lvii, cx-cxi.
- ^{35a} Smith, Catalogue of Coins, 161 ff.
- ³⁶ E. I., VII, 41, 44; Rapson, Coins, lx.

- ^{36a} Arch. Sur. of Mysore (1929), 50.
³⁷ E. I., XXIV, 138.
³⁸ Rāj. Hist., I, 327.
³⁹ P. H. A. I., 533.
⁴⁰ A. R. R. M., 1929-30, p. 2.
⁴¹ C. I. I., III, 154.
⁴² P. H. A. I., 535 n.
⁴³ C. I. I., III, 146-47.
⁴⁴ Harshacharita (Parab's edition), 120.
⁴⁵ Watter's translation, p. 249. 341.
⁴⁶ Cf. Sāmoli Inscription (E. I., 97 ff.).
⁴⁷ Mirza Kalichbeg's translation, p. 21.

CHAPTER III

ORIGIN OF THE GUHILAS

The problem of the origin of the Guhilas is an intricate one. Reference in comparatively early epigraphic and literary records are quoted to prove that they were originally either Brāhmaṇas or Kshatriyas. The confusion already existing was made worse confounded by writers of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Abul Fazl records that the Rāṇā "pretends a descent from Noshirwān the Just".¹ The same story is repeated by the author of the Māsūr-ul-Omra and Jaisingh of Amber.² European writers like Thomas Roe, Bernier and others tell us that the ruler of Chitor was a decendant of Poros, the famous opponent of Alexander.³ In the Rājavilāsa Kāvya of the time of Rāṇā Rājasimha, Guhadatta, the originator of the Guhila family, is connected with the royal house of Valabhī.⁴ The probative value of these claims is extremely small. We perhaps notice here the same tendency towards establishing relationship with famous heroes of old which was so common in early times.

The question before us has been discussed with reference to earlier sources by several scholars in recent times. Writing in the nineteenth century Pandit Bhagwānlāl Indrajī observed, "The name Gehlot seems to be Guhila-putra from Gobhila-putra an ancient Brāhmaṇa gotra. The Rājput use of a Brāhmaṇa gotra is generally considered a technical affiliation, a mark of respect for some Brāhmaṇa teacher. It seems doubtful whether the practice is not a reminiscence of an ancestral Brāhmaṇa strain. This view finds confirmation in the Aitpur (sic) inscription which states that Guhadit the founder of the Gohil tribe was of Brāhmaṇa race '*Vipra-kula*'.⁵ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar came to the conclusion that they were originally Nāgar Brāhmins, ethnically allied with the Mers and the Huns, and therefore foreigners in India.⁶ This view has been accepted by Smith in his Early History of India.⁷ Dewān Bāhādur C. V. Vaidya and MM. Pandit G. H. Ojhā, on the other hand, believe that the ancestors of the present ruler of Mewār were pure Kshatriyas of the Raghuvamśī sections of the solar race.⁸

An examination of the early records of the Guhilas shows

that the traditional founder of the line—variously represented as either Guhila or Bappa—was regarded from a comparatively early period as a member of the sacerdotal order. In the Āṭpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra dated 977 A.D. Guhadatta receives the epithets Viprakulānandanah and Mahīdevah.⁹ In the Chitorgarh Inscription of 1274 A.D. Bappa is called a Viprah¹⁰ and from the Abu Inscription of 1285 A.D. we learn that he exchanged brāhma (priestly or holy) for kshātra (kingly or military) splendour.¹¹ The same hero is described as a dvijapuṅgavaḥ (best among the twice born) in the Rasikapriyā of Rāṇā Kumbhā¹² and as a dvija (a twice-born) in the Ekliṅgī Inscription of 1489 A.D.¹³ Abul Fazl observes, "As a Brāhman, at the beginning of their history nurtured their house, they are accounted as belonging to this caste".¹⁴ Neṇṣī, a contemporary of Yaśovantasimha of Mārwar, quotes a *chhappaya* which records that "A Brāhmaṇa is the first cause of extraction (of the Guhilas) but (we) regard (him) as a Kshatriya".¹⁵

The exponents of the theory of *pure* Kshatriya lineage of the Guhilas draw our attention to the evidence of a *gold* coin the legend on which is read as Śrī Voppa. On the reverse side appear several symbols one of which is taken to be a representation of the Sun. MM. Ojhā attributes the coin to Bappa and further urges that the Sun indicates the solar origin of the family to which he belonged. In the second place, it is pointed out that in the Ekliṅgī Inscription of the time of the Guhila king Naravāhana, dated 971 A.D. some sages of the Lakulīṣa-Pāśupata sect are described as Raghuvamśakīrtiṣuṇāḥ i.e. "displayers of the fame of Raghu's family". The successors of these sages, officiate as priests of Ekaliṅga, the patron deity of the royal family of Mewār, and also act as spiritual preceptors of the Guhila princes. Hence Raghuvamśakīrtiṣuṇāḥ is taken to imply "displayers of the fame of the Guhila family", or in other words, the Guhilas belong to the lineage of Raghu and therefore are *pure* Kshatriyas.

In view of the fact that the coin and inscription noted above are older than any other record which describe the originator of the Guhila house as a Brāhmaṇa their evidence is regarded as authentic. The epithet mahīdevah applied to Guhadatta in the Āṭpur inscription is interpreted to mean a 'king' and the phrase viprakulānandanah is taken to suggest that he paid his respects to Brāhmaṇas. For an explanation of the ascription of Brāhminhood to Bappa in several inscriptions, MM. Ojhā refers us to the following tradition recorded by Neṇṣī,—Guhadatta, after the death of his father, was brought up by a Brāhmaṇa family and the first ten generations from himself downwards observed the rites pres-

cribed for the sacerdotal order. Hence, though really of Kshatriya extraction, they were regarded as Brāhmaṇas. The explanation follows closely what is given in the Āin-i-Ākbari¹⁶.

With reference to the theory adumbrated above, it may be pointed out that the reading of the coin legend as Śrī Voppa is doubtful. Inscription on a similar piece has been read by Hoernle as Śrī Dhairyarāja and by Burns as Śrī Vighraha. Dr. Altekar observes that it can be read as Dhogarāja or Dhopparāja or Vopparāja or Vogharāja¹⁷. Moreover, none of these coins are known to have been found within the limits of Mewār. Neither have we any evidence to prove that the princes of the Guhila family ever used gold for coinage. Hence the attribution of these coins to Bappa of Mewār is far from certain. The appearance of the symbol of the Sun on coins of a particular ruler, again, does not necessarily prove that he belongs to the solar family. Lastly, as has been pointed out by Dr. H. C. Ray, it is significant to note that the early epigraphic records of the Guhilas, never trace the geneology of their family from the Sun¹⁸. Under these circumstances we will not perhaps be justified in using the doubtful evidence of the coin in question in determining the origin of the Guhilas. As to the second argument, the relevant passage of Naravāhana's inscription runs as follows:—

Yoginaḥ / sāpānugrahabhūmayo Himaślābandhojvalād-
āgireraseto Raghuvamśakīrtipiśunātrivraṇ tapah.¹⁹

From the above quotation it appears that the phrase Raghuvamśakīrtipiśunāt ends in the fifth case-ending and cannot be associated with the word yoginaḥ. The learned editor suggests the emendation piśunāstivraṇ for piśunātrivraṇ which has also been accepted by MM. Ojha and Dewan Bahadur C. V. Vaidya²⁰. The epigraph under discussion was also published in Peterson's Bhāvnagar Inscriptions where we get the reading Raghuvamśakīrtipiśunāttivraṇ instead of Raghuvamśokīrtipiśunātrivraṇ²¹. There can hardly be any doubt that the reading of Peterson is the correct one, and the phrase qualifies the word āseto. The obvious reference is not to the fame of the Guhila princes, but to the bridge in the south associated with the story of Śrī Rāma-chandra of the family of Raghu. We have here only an instance of the conventional way of referring to the northern (Himālaya) and the southern (Adam's Bridge) limits of India²². The suggestion that mahādevaḥ means a 'king' and not a 'Brāhmaṇa' is difficult to accept. Its use in the former sense, so far as we know, is unknown to Sanskrit literature and epigraphic records, which draws a distinction between mahādeva (Brāhmaṇa) and paradeva

(king). The tradition recorded by Neṇṣī is late, and in the absence of earlier evidence, is not of much probative value.

While the arguments adduced so far by scholars in support of the original Kshatriya status of the Guhilas do not seem to be convincing, there is reason to believe that the tradition about the Kshatriya status (or connection) of the family is not so late as some writers would seem to suggest. Neṇṣī himself bears witness to the intricacies inherent in the problem of determining the caste of the Guhilas. As early as 1285 A. D. the Abu inscription tells us that Bappa exchanged Brāhminhood for Kshatriyahood. This points to a belief in the thirteenth century that the Guhila dynasty, though originating with a Brāhmaṇa, had attained the status of Kshatriyahood *from the time of the traditional founder*. Princes of the line took as their consorts ladies belonging to clans who ranked as Kshatriyas or Rājputs from the tenth century A.D. Mahālakshmī, the queen of Bhatṛipatṭa II was born in the Rāthṛakūṭa family. Naravāhana's wife was the daughter of the Chāhamāna prince Jejaya. Guhila, the grand father of Bālāditya of the Chāṭsu inscription had matrimonial connection with the Paramāras, while Bālāditya himself took as his wife the daughter of the Chāhamāna prince Śivarāja²⁴. Intercaste marriages, it may be said in reply, were not unknown in those days. But it is not a little curious that unlike the Pratihāra family of Harichandra²¹, the Guhila line which claims descent from one who is a viprakulānandanah and mahādevah had not, so far as we know, a single recorded case of a marriage with a Brāhmaṇa girl even in the earliest period.

There is another point which deserves attention. The Guhila inscriptions are found as early as the middle of the seventh century A.D. From that time onward until 977 A.D. the family records do not throw any light on its caste. In the earliest inscription, that at Sāmoli, dated 646 A.D., the lineage is simply referred to as svakula²⁵. Brāhmaṇa status is claimed for the progenitor for the first time, by the branch ruling at Āghāṭa, in the latter part of the tenth century. But precisely at this period another branch of the Guhilas, that at Chāṭsu, styles Bhatṛipatṭa, the earliest ruler of the line, not as a viprah or mahādevah but as Brahmakshatrāṇvitaḥ²⁶. What ever be the correct interpretation of the expression Brahmakshatrāṇvitaḥ it is not synonymous with either viprakulānandanah or mahādevakulodbhavaḥ. For the term Brahmakshatriya no less than three explanations have been suggested²⁷, viz.:

1. A family which was Brāhmaṇa first but afterwards exchanged its priestly for martial pursuits.

2. A family from which emanated both Brāhmaṇas and Kshatriyas (Brahmakshatrasya yo yonirvaṁśo).
3. A family springing from parents one of whom was a Brāhmaṇa, and the other a Kshatriya.

If the first interpretation—the one preferred by Dr. Bhandarkar—is accepted then the Guhilas must have already exchanged their priestly for Kshatriya status in the time of Bhatṛipaṭṭa of the Chāṭsu inscription, that is to say, in about the seventh century A.D. If the second interpretation be accepted, Kshatriya family had already emanated from the Guhila line before the Chāṭsu inscription. According to the third interpretation Bhatṛipaṭṭa must have had Kshatriya as well as Brāhmaṇa blood in his veins. Thus by the time of the Chāṭsu inscription the Guhilas had either already acquired a Kshatriya status or they had Kshatriya kinsmen or ancestors. In any case the Chāṭsu inscription does not bear out all the implications of the claim put forward in the Āṭpur epigraph. It may be remembered in this connection that the writers of the inscriptions of the Sena dynasty, which is also described as Brahmakshatriya, regard Brahmakshatriya as virtually synonymous with Kshatriya, the progenitor of the family of their patrons being styled Brahmakshatriyānām kulaśīrodāma and Kaṛṇāṭakshatriyānām kulaśīrodāma²⁸.

The case of the Guhilas is to some extent paralleled by that of the Pratihāras. According to two Pratihāra records from the Jodhpur state of the 9th century the Pratihāras were descendants of a Brāhmaṇa named Harichandra, while according to another record, namely, the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja, also dated in the ninth century, they are descended from Saumitri, that is, Lakshmaṇa, a Kshatriya of the family of Raghu belonging to the solar race.²⁹ The divergent traditions recorded by the epigraphs from the Jodhpur state and from Gwalior have their parallel in the equally varied traditions of the Āṭpur and the Chāṭsu inscriptions. It is useless to utilise records of this type for the purpose of determining the origin or the social status of the families in question in the absence of other evidence.

In regard to the Guhilas one thing is clear. They did not in their earlier inscription lay any claim to descent from the Sun. In the Āṭpur record of 977 A.D. Kālabhoja is described as Arkasama (like the Sun), but not as belonging to the Arkakula or Suryavaṁśa or Saptāśvavaṁśa. As late as the Chitrogarh inscription of 1335 V.S. (1278 A.D.) Guhilaputra Siṁha was simply styled a Kshatriya. For a solar connection we have to travel down the stream of time till we reach the fourteenth or fifteenth century. In a fragmentary inscription of the time of Mokala it is stated

for the first time that Guhila, 'the head of the princes' belonged to the Saptāśvavaṁśa, that is, the solar line.³⁰ The next stage was reached when his ancestry was traced back to Śrī Rāmachandra.

We now turn to the question of the earlier home of the Guhilas of Mewār. In the Ātpur inscription of Śaktikumāra Guhadatta is described as a delighter of the Brāhmaṇa family (viprakulānan-danaḥ) which came from Ānandapura. The Chitogarh inscription tells us that Bappa came from Ānandapura and worshipped the pair of feet of the sage Hāritarāśi.³¹ Dr. Bhandarkar identifies this Ānandapura with Vaḍnagar in the old Baroda state, and observes. "When Bappa, the supposed founder of the Guhilot dynasty, is ... called a Brāhmaṇa and spoken of as having come from Ānandapura, what is implied is that he was a Nāgar Brāhmaṇa". In support of this he draws our attention to a passage of the Ekaliṅga Māhātmya of the time of Rāṇā Kumbhā, where Vijayāditya, an alleged ancestor of Guhila, is called a Nāgarakulamaṇḍanaḥ (the ornament of the Nāgara family). Lastly, the Vaijavāpa gotra of the Śiśodiās was current among the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas.³²

The theory of Dr. Bhandarkara, however, cannot be regarded as definitely proved. Dewān Bāhādur C. V. Vaidya doubts the identification of Ānandapura with Vaḍnagar, and thinks that it was the same as Nāghrada.³³ In the Chitorgarh inscription of 1274 A.D., we find a description of the country of Medapāṭa (Verse 6). Within its limits was situated the city of Nāghrada which is described as ilākhaṇḍa-avanībhūṣanaḥ (verse 8). Then follows the following passage:—

jīyad Ānandapurvaṁ tad *iha* puram ilākhaṇḍasaundaryaśobhi. It will be seen that both Nāghrada and Ānandapura are described as ornaments of ilākhaṇḍa. This suggests that both the cities were situated in the same part of the country. The word '*iha*' (here), in the above passage also implies that Ānandapura was located within Mewār (cf. asti Nāghradanāma sāyam *iha* pattanam). It is interesting to note in this connection that Āhār (ancient Āghāṭa) was known as Ānandapura.³⁴ With regard to the evidence of the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya, which connects the Guhilas with the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, the lateness of it will be granted by all. We perhaps find here an early attempt to explain the Brāhmaṇahood of the earliest ancestor of the Guhila family by connecting him with a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa family. Tod tells us that Guhila, after the death of his father, was brought up by a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa.³⁵ None of the alleged ancestors of Guhila mentioned in the Ekaliṅga māhātmya can however be proved to have been a historical personage. Finally, it may be noted that the earliest reference to the gotra of the Guhilas is found in an

inscription of 1243 V.S. (1186 A.D.) and the name is given as Gautama.³⁶ The Śīśodiās probably changed their priests and assumed their gotra.^{36a}

Some very late tradition associate the Guhilas with the region south of the Vindhya. Abul Fazl, for instance, tells us that an ancestor of the Rāṇā came to Berār and distinguished himself as the chief of Narnāla. About eight hundred years before the author's time the fort fell into the hands of an invader, and "Bāpa, a child" was taken to Mewār where he found refuge among the Bhīls and eventually became the ruler of the land.³⁷ The emperor Jahāngir writes in his memoirs that "the Śīśodiās have long borne rule to the East, that is Pūrab After this they fell on the Deccan and took possession of many of the countries of that region After this they came into the hilly country of Mewāt (sic), and by degrees got into their possession the fort of Chitor."³⁸ We learn from the Jagatnārāyaṇa inscription dated 1709 V.S. (1652 A.D.) that in the family of Rāma was born Vijayabhūpa. His son Padmāditya went to the south (babhūva Dakṣiṇagah). In his lineage was born Bāpa who came from the south and became ruler of Mewār.^{38a} The same story is also found in the Rājapraśasti Mahākāvya.³⁹ Neṇṣī records that the Rāṇā's ancestor came from Nāsik.⁴⁰ In connection with the persistent tradition about the migration of the Guhilas from a land to the south of Mewār, attention may be invited to an early inscription which records the gift of a Guhila in Ujjain. The name, however, may refer to an individual and not to a family.⁴¹

¹ Āin. II, 268.

² Tod. I., 253, 257 f.

³ Roe, Embassy (Hakluyat Society), L., 102; Berner's Travels (Constable and Smith), 208; Tod, I., 49 n.

⁴ Hist. Rāj., I, 388 & n.

A sāmanta Śīlāditya and a balādhikṛita Bappa Bhogikaputra find mention in several Maitraka records (Cf. Bhāvnagar Inscriptions 38, 42, 58 etc.). But in the present state of our knowledge their connection with Śīlāditya and Bappa of Mewār tradition cannot be established.

⁵ B. G., I. I., 98 n.

⁶ J. A. S. B., 1909, 167 ff.

⁷ E. H. I. (4), 436.

⁸ H. M. H. I. (Vaidya), II, 322 ff.; Hist. Rāj., I, 378 ff.

⁹ I. A., 1910, 191.

¹⁰ Bhāv. Ins. 75, vr. 9.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 85, vr. 11.

¹² Telang's edition of Gītagovinda with the commentary of Rasikapriyā, p. 1 f.; J. A. S. B., 1909, 173.

¹³ Bhāv. Ins. 118, vr. 12.

¹⁴ Āin, II, 269.

- ¹⁵ Khyāta, p. 11, J. A. S. B., 1909, 178 f.
- ¹⁶ Hist. Rāj., I, 378 ff; H. M. H. I. (Vaidya) II, 322 ff.
- ¹⁷ Pro. A. I. Oriental Conference, (Barodā Sessions), p. 703 ff.
- ¹⁸ D. H. N. I., II, 1167 n.
- ¹⁹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, 166 ff.
- ²⁰ Hist. Rāj., I, 379 n; H. M. H. I., II, 333 n.
- ²¹ Bhav. Ins. 70 (line 13).
- ²² Cf. Ā-Gaṅgāgama-mahitāt spatnaśunyāmāsetoh prathita-dasāsyaketukīrteḥ (Maitreya Gauda Lakhamālā, p. 38).
- ²³ Cf. the Āṭpur Insr; of Śaktikumāra (I. A., 1910, 191) and the Chātsu insr. of Bālāditya (E. I., xii, 13 ff).
- ²⁴ Contrast Harichandra took both a Brāhmaṇa and a Kshatriya lady as his wives. (E. I., XVIII, 95).
- ²⁵ Cf. the Sāmoli inscription of 646 A.D., where Śilāditya is simply described as svakulāmbarachandramāḥ.
- ²⁶ E. I., XII, 13.
- ²⁷ Bhandarkar, Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population, pp. 29 ff.
- ²⁸ Majumdar, Inscriptions of Bengal, III, pp. 46, 110.
- ²⁹ Cf. Jodhpur Ins. of Bāuka, Ghatiyala Ins. of Kakkuka and the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja.
- ³⁰ A. R. R. M., 1931-32, p. 4.
- ³¹ I. A., 1910, 191; Bhāv. Ins. 75, (verse 9).
- ³² J. A. S. B., 1909, 171.
- ³³ H. M. H. I., II, p. 337.
- ³⁴ Tod, II, 912.
- ³⁵ Tod, I, 258; Neṣī. Khyāta, p. 11.
- ³⁶ Bhandarkar's Lists of inscriptions. No. 407.
- ^{36a} Scholars are not unanimous as to whether the Kshatriyas have an independent gotra or not. Pandit Ojha has quoted ancient texts to show that they assumed the gotra names of their priests. (Hist. Rāj., I, 422 ff).
- As the Nāgar Brāhmaṇ origin of the Guhilas is not free from doubt the question of their ethnic affiliation with the Meers and the Huns does not arise at all. Dr. Bhandarkar also admits that with regard to this particular part of his thesis he is not on *terra firma*.
- ³⁷ Āin., II, 268.
- ³⁸ Tuzuk (Rogers & Beveridge). I, 250.
- ^{38a} E. I. XX, App. No. 137.
- ³⁹ E. I., XXIV, 65.
- ⁴⁰ Khyāta, p. 11.
- ⁴¹ Ujeniyā Gohilasa visasaca dānam
(Marshall and other, Monuments of Sanchi, p. 311.

CHAPTER IV

RISE OF THE GUHILAS

The beginnings of Guhila history are shrouded in darkness, and light does not shine forth till we come to the reign of Bhatṛipatṭa II (c. 942-43). The present chapter deals with those princes who ruled till the end of the eighth century. The paucity of material allows only the barest outline of the story to be drawn.

The Sāmoli inscription of 646 A.D. referred to the reign of Śīlāditya, clearly indicates that the prince in question, who is identified with 'Śīla' of the dynastic lists of the Guhilas, exercised sway over the south-western parts of Mewār about the middle of the seventh century A.D. As we have evidence to show that at least two generations of rulers went before him, the foundation of the Guhila line in Mewār was probably laid about the time when Śīlāditya-Dharmāditya was ruling in Western India, and Harshavardhana-Śīlāditya of Kanauj, and Pulakeśin II of Vātāpi began or were about to begin their eventful careers. The assumption of power by the Guhilas is ascribed in later records to the traditional hero Bappa, who is said to have been elevated to royal dignity through the grace of Hāritarāśi.¹ The dynastic designation, we are told, is derived from Guhila, who is sometimes represented as his son.² The Ekliṅgī inscription of the time of Naravāhana, however, describes Bappa as Guhila-gotra-narendra-chandraḥ (moon in the family of Guhila),³ and the Chirwā inscription tells us that he was Guhilāṅgaja-varṁśajaḥ (born in the family that sprang from the limb of Guhila).⁴ This suggests that Bappa was not the father but a descendant of Guhila. The Āṭpur inscription distinctly refers to Guhadatta (Guhila) as the progenitor of the family (prabhavaḥ-Guhila-varṁśasya).⁵ The epithet nṛpati applied to him in some later records may imply that he was believed to have been a ruling prince.⁶

Guhadatta or Guhila was succeeded by his son Bhoja. This prince was a worshipper of Viṣṇu (Śrīpati).⁷ He thus followed in the wake of the ruler mentioned in the Ghosunḍī inscription. This is noticeable when we remember that in later ages it is Śaivism which looms large. After him according to the Āṭpur inscription came Mahendranāga (or Mahīndranāga),⁸ Śīla and Aparājita. The Kumbhalgarh Prasasti also gives the same order

of succession, but in place of 'Śīla' we find the name of Bappa. The princes Mahēndranāga, Bappa and Aparājita are all represented in it as sons of Bhoja.⁹

Mahendranāga should probably be identified with Nāgāditya of tradition. Tod tells us that he met with a violent death at the hands of the Bhīls.^{9a} His name is not found in the dynastic lists supplied by the Chitogarh inscription of 1274 A.D., the Abu inscription of 1285 A.D. and the Sādaḍī (Rānpur) inscription of 1439 A.D. According to these records the immediate successor of Bhoja was Śīla. We have already referred to the Sāmoli inscription of 646 A.D. which is assigned to his reign. It gives the full name of the king as Sīlāditya and describes him as Svakulāba(mba)ra-chandramāḥ, i.e. the moon in the sky that was his family. The record tells us that a community of Mahājanas with the Mahattara Jentaka at its head came from Vaṭanagara and built a temple of the goddess Araṇyavāsini. Jentaka at the instance of the members of this community also started an āgāra in Araṇyakūpagiri.¹⁰ The Mahājanas form the next important element of the population of Mewār after the Bhīls.¹¹ In the Chitogarh inscription of 1274 A.D. Śīla is described as having taken the Goddess of Victory (Jayaśrī) who became disgraced by coming into contact with the inimical *mātāngas* after bathing her in water from the edge of his sword. Peterson takes *mātāngas* to mean *chāṇḍālas*.¹² But the word is also used in the sense of Kirātas, mountaineers, barbarians, etc.,¹³ and as such may refer to the Bhīls as well. If this is accepted then the statement of the Chitogarh inscription may imply a temporary loss of fortune suffered by the infant Guhila power at the hands of the Bhīls, and the tragic end of Nāgāditya, referred to by Tod, may have been an actual fact. The position was, however, retrieved by his successor.

We have already pointed out that in the Kumbhalgarh Praśasti the name of Śīla, between Mahendranāga and Aparājita, is replaced by that of Bappa. This last name is regarded by scholars as a biruda.¹⁴ Hence the aforesaid record seems to suggest that Śīla and Bappa were regarded as identical in the days of Kumbhā. Tod informs us that Bappa is frequently styled Śaila (Śīla) and in inscriptions Sailadīsa (Sīlādhiśa, Śīlāditya?).¹⁵ Some modern scholars are inclined to regard this identity as not plausible. They draw our attention to the evidence of the Ekaliṅgamāhātmya of the time of Kumbhā and the Ekaliṅga Purāṇa of the time of Rāyamalla both of which give the date 753 A.D. for Bappa.^{15a} According to the latter work it was the year of his abdication. In support of this tradition it is pointed

out that the datum is introduced with the words *yad uktam purātanaṁ kavibhiḥ* (as hath been said by old poets), and the suggestion has been made that it was probably copied from some old records. In later traditions Bappa is represented as having conquered the fort of Chitor from Māna Morī. The latter is identified with a homonymous prince mentioned in an inscription of 713 A.D. found at Chitor. Hence it is inferred that the "Bappa" of tradition lived sometime between 713 A.D. and 753 A.D. As Śīla was ruling in 646 A.D. his identity with this 'Bappa' is held to be impossible.¹⁶ MM. Ojha and Dr. Bhandarkar propose to identify the traditional Bappa with Kālabhoja and Khum-māṇa I respectively.¹⁷ The latter has quite recently modified his views and urges that as the name of Guhilaputra Siṁha (grandson of Khummana I) is coupled with Haritarāśī (in the Chitorgarh inscription of 1335 V.S.) he is probably identical with the traditional Bappa of his family.¹⁸

We feel some difficulty in preferring the evidence of the Ekalinga Māhātmya and the Ekalingapurāṇa to that of the Kumbhalgarh Praśasti. The writer of this epigraph, too, based his account of kings on old praśastis cf:—

ataḥ śrīrājavarṇśotra pra[vyakta]ḥ [pro][chyatedhunā]
chirantana pra[śasti]nāma[ne]ka[nā]ma[taḥ (ve)kshaṇā]t¹⁹

Under the circumstances we can not say which evidence can claim priority of time.

As to Bappa's conquest of Chitor from the Morī prince, the tradition possibly became current only in the latter part of the seventeenth century. It is found in the Rājapraśasti Mahākāvya (1675 A.D.). Neṇsī's Khyāta (a contemporary of Yaśovantaśiṁha), and in the Annals of Mewār by Tod.²⁰ Abul Fazl who wrote in the latter half of the sixteenth century seems to have been ignorant of it. He speaks of Bappa's acquisition of the kingdom from certain Bhīl princes, sons of a chieftain named Maṇḍalika, whom he treacherously put to death.²¹ Jahāngir (1605-27) tells us that the Sisodiās came into the hilly country of Mewāt (sic) and *by degrees* got into their possession the fort of Chitor.²² With the exception of the Rājapraśasti not a single epigraph, so far discovered, associates Bappa with Chitor. The Eklingjī inscription of 971 A.D. in which we get the earliest reference to the hero, says that he lived at Nāgahrada.²³ The Chitorgarh inscription of 1274 A.D. records that Bappa came from Ānandapura and through the grace of Hāritarāśī, became the lord of Medapāra.²⁴ The Abu Inscription of 1285 A.D., the Kumbhalgarh inscription of 1460 A.D. and the Eklingjī inscription of 1488 A.D. also contain the same information.²⁵ Even the Jagatnārāyaṇa

temple inscription of 1652 A.D. of the time of Jagatsiṃha, father of Rājasīṃha, simply states that Bappa obtained his kingdom as a gift from the God Śiva (Śivadattrājyah).²⁶ Not a word is spoken about his attack on Chitor. On the other hand we have evidence to show that Chitor was in possession of a prince styled "Kukkreswar" till 754 A.D., i.e. one year after the date of Bappa's alleged abdication.²⁷ As the name of the former is not met with in the lists of Guhila princes it is difficult to reconcile his possession of the fort with the conquest of the same by Bappa, unless we assume that he was a feudatory of the Guhilas, of which there is no evidence. The most important places in the early annals of the Guhilas were Nāgdā and Āhār in the south-west of Mewār where all the ancient inscriptions of the dynasty have been found. The first prince of the Mewār family about whom it can be definitely stated that he was in possession of Chitor was Jaitra-siṃha. The conclusion is, therefore, forced upon us that the fortress was not possibly conquered by Bappa, and we should regard the tradition recorded in the latter half of seventeenth century as apocryphal.

In the present state of our knowledge the determination of the place of the Bappa of traditional tales in the genealogical list of the Guhilas is beset with difficulties. That he was looked upon as an important king is evident from the legends that have gathered round him. The reference to his elevation to the throne of Mewār through the grace of Hāritarās probably indicates that he lost his ancestral possessions. The same conclusion is perhaps implied by the statement of the Chitorgarh inscription of 1274 A.D., that he obtained navarājyalakshmīṃ (new royal fortune).²⁸ This recalls to our mind the overthrow of the Guhila power by the Bhīls during the reign of Nāga, and its restoration by Śīla. Tod also says that Bappa came immediately after Nāga. Hence the identity of Bappa and Śīla suggested by the evidence of the Kumbhalgarh Praśasti does not seem to be quite implausible.

Śīla was succeeded by Aparājita. The Udaipur Victoria Hall inscription of his time, dated 661 A.D. confers upon him only conventional praise. It records the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu by Yaśomatī, wife of Varāhasiṃha, "the leader of the forces" of Aparājita. It is interesting to note that while the ruling prince is simply styled a rajā, the commander of his army is called a mahārāja.²⁹

Aparājita's successor was probably Mahendra(bhaṭṭa) (Mahīndrabhaṭa). The relationship between them is not known. The latter was succeeded by his son Kālabhoja. Tod tells us that his warlike qualities are extolled in an inscription which he discovered

in the valley of Nāgdā.³⁰ In the Ātpur inscription, Kālabhoja is described as resplendant like the sun (arkasamaśobhitah). The Abu inscription of 1285 A.D. says that he was the crest ornament of the princes of his family (kulanṛipaśreṇīśiromaṇḍanaḥ). We learn from the same record that "he put an end to the amorous pleasure of Choḍa women and was a chastiser of the lord of Karṇāṭa".³¹ As in all probability only one reign intervened between him and Aparājita, it will not be unreasonable to place him towards the close of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. The Karṇāṭas mentioned above may in that case refer to the Chālukyas of Vātāpi who under Vinayāditya (680-96 A.D.) claims to have exercised suzerainty over the Cholas and led an expedition to Northern India.³²

Kālabhoja's son and successor was Khummāṇa I. Tod records on the authority of the Khummāṇa Rāso that a Muslim invasion swept over Mewār during his reign. The name of the invader is given as "Mahmūd Khorāshan Pat". The obvious reference is to the famous Sultan of Ghazna. Realising the chronological difficulty regarding the contemporaneity of Mahmūd and Khummāṇa I, and accepting the traditional date of the latter as correct, Tod made the supposition that the invader was the Abbasid Caliph al-Mamūn (813-33 A.D.).³³ Ojha has pointed out the untrustworthy character of the Khummāṇa Rāso, and observes that if there is any truth in the tradition recorded in that work then the invasion must have taken place during the reign of Khummāṇa II.³⁴ But Tod expressly tells us that the prince was the immediate successor of Kālabhoja, i.e. Khummāṇa I. As he most probably flourished during the first half of the eighth century we perhaps find in the Rāso a reference to the incursions made by the forces of Junaid, the Arab governor of Sind. Among the places raided and conquered mention is made of Marmad or Mirmad, (Maru-Māḍa i.e. portions of Jodhpur and Jaisalmer), al-Mandal (Mandor or Māṇḍalgarh ?), Dahnaj, Barwas (Broach), Uzain (Ujjain), al-Malibah (Mālava), Bahrimad, al-Bailamān (Vallamaṇḍala) and al-Jurz (Gurjara land).³⁵ The Nausārī Plates of Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin of Lāṭa also refer to this invasion of the Arabs in course of which they defeated the Saindhavas, the Kachchhellas, Surāshṭra, the Chāvotkaṭas, the Mauryas, the Gurjaras and other kings.³⁶ It will be seen from the above that several kingdoms lying in the vicinity of Mewār were affected by these foreign raids. An advanced section of the Islamic force may have reached the valley of the Ārāvallis and Khummāṇa I may have distinguished himself by defending his territory.

About Khummāṇa's son and successor Mattaṭa the Chitorgarh inscription of 1274 A.D. says that he wrote the praise of his victory, with the drops of tears from their eyes, on the slab of bosoms of the wives of the proud adversaries of Mālava.³⁷ Assigning a period of twenty-five years in the average to each of the intervening reigns from Aparajita (661 A.D.) to Bhatṛipatta II (942-43 A.D.), Mattaṭa may be placed in the third quarter of the eighth century. From the Sañjan grant of Amoghavarsha I we come to know that Dantidurga made a Hiranyagarbhadāna at Ujjain about 751 A.D.³⁸ From the reference to Gujareśa and other princes (pratīhārīḥ kṛitāḥ yena Gurjjareśādi rājakāḥ) in that connection it has been inferred that Ujjain was at that time in occupation of the Gujjaras.³⁹ In the colophon of the Harivaṁśa of Jinasena mention is made of 'Avantibhūbhṛit', which is taken by some to be an epithet of Vatsarāja, the Pratīhāra king mentioned in the same text.⁴⁰ It may be pointed out on the other hand that in the Buchkalā (Jodhpur state) inscription of 815 A.D. the Mārwar region is distinctly referred to as the *svavishaya* of the Pratīhāras,⁴¹ and in the Gwalior Praśasti, the hill forts of Mālava are said to have been acquired, apparently for the first time, by Nāgabhaṭa II.⁴² In the absence of a definite chronology it is difficult to say whether Mattaṭa came into collision with the rising power of the Rāshtrakūṭas or the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.

¹ Chitorgarh Ins. of 1331 V. S. (Bhāv. Ins., 75, vr. 10-11);

Abu Ins. of 1342 V. S. (*Ibid.*, 85, vr. 10).

Kumbhalgarh Ins. of 1517 V. S. (E. I., XXIV, 323, Vr. 125).

Eklīṅjī Ins. of 1545 V. S. (Bhāv. Ins., 118, Verse 16).

² Chitorgarh Ins., of 1331 (Vr. 13); Abu Ins. of 1342 (Vr. 12).

Kumbhalgarh Ins. of 1517 V. S. (Vr. 127).

³ Bhāv. Ins. 70 (line 5).

⁴ E. I., XXII, 288 (Vr. 3).

⁵ I. A., 1910, p. 191, Vr. 1.

⁶ e.g., Abu Ins. of 1342; Kumbhalgarh Ins. of 1517.

⁷ Abu Ins. of 1342 (Verse 13).

⁸ I. A., 1910, 191; Kumbhalgarh Ins. of 1517 (Vr. 139).

Dr. Bhandarkar takes Mahendra and Nāga of the Āṭpur inscription separately. But the Kumbhalgarh inscription gives Mahindranāga as a name of a single individual. We do not find any necessity for separation. The form of the name receives support from the fact that another prince of the family was known as Mahendra (bhaṭṭa) or Mahīndrabhaṭa, I. A., 1910, 191 f.n. 12; E. I., XXIV, 324 (Vr. 140).

⁹ E. I., XXIV, Vr. 139.

tasmin Guhilavaṁśebhud Bhojanāmāvaniśvaraḥ

tasman Mahīndranāgāhvo Bappākhyasch-Āparājitaḥ

¹⁰ Tqd, I, 259.

- ¹⁰ E. I., XX, 97 ff.
- ¹¹ I. G. (R), 117.
- ¹² Chitorgarh Ins. of 1331 V. S. (Vr. 20). Cf. Peterson's translation (Bhāv. Ins., p. 79).
- ¹³ Apte, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 754.
- ¹⁴ Cf. C. I. I., III, 186 n; Hist. Rāj., I, 408 f; I. A., 1910, p. 191.
- ¹⁵ Tod, I, 261 n.
- ^{15a} Rāj. Hist. I, 410 ff.; D. H. N. I., II, 1158; I. A., 1910, 190.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Rāj. Hist. I, 409, D. H. N. I., II, 1159, I. A., 1910, p. 190.
- ¹⁸ E. I., XX, App. 84, f.n. 6.
- ¹⁹ E. I. XXIV, 324, Verse 138.
- ²⁰ E. I., XX, App. No. 137; Khyāta, p. 11, Tod, I, 266.
- ²¹ Ain, II, 268.
- ²² Tuzuk, I, 250.
- ²³ J. B. B. R. A. S., XXII, 166 f.
- ²⁴ Bhāv. Ins., p. 75 (Vr. 9).
- ²⁵ E. I. XXIV, 322, Vr. 123; Bhāv. Ins. 118, Vr. 12.
- ²⁶ E. I., XXIV, 65 (Vr. 7).
- ²⁷ Tod, III, 1823.
- ²⁸ Bhāv. Ins., 75, Verse 11.
- ²⁹ E. I., IV, 31.
- ³⁰ Tod, I, 283.
- ³¹ Bhāv. Ins., 85, Verse 15.
- ³² Fleet, Kanarese Districts, p. 368.
- ³³ Tod, I, 283, 286, 291 f.
- ³⁴ Hist. Rāj., I, 420, 422 f.
- ³⁵ Majumdar, Gurjara-Pratihāras, p. 21; (Jour. Dept. of Letters, X).
Arab invasion of India, p. 40-41; (Journal of India Hist., X, Part I).
- ³⁶ Bomb. Gaz., I, Part I, 109 n.
- ³⁷ Bhāv. Ins., 75, Verse 25.
- ³⁸ E. I., XVIII, 243, (Verse 9).
- ³⁹ Majumdar, Gujarapratihāra, p. 25; Tripathi, (History of Kanauj, p. 226).
- ⁴⁰ Gurjarapratihāras, p. 23 f; Hist. of Kanauj, 225.
- ⁴¹ E. I., IX, p. 200, line 7.
- ⁴² E. I., XVIII, p. 108.

CHAPTER V

PERIOD OF RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA-PRATIHĀRA CONFLICT

The Chitogarh inscription of 713 A.D. introduces us to a dynasty of four princes of the Tvasṭṛi family—Maheśvara, Bhīma, Bhoja and his son Māna. All of them seem to have ruled in Mālwā. We are told that Bhīma had his 'abode' at Avanti, and Māna is called 'lord of Mālwā'.¹ The find spot of the inscription indicates that at the beginning of the eighth century A.D. eastern Mewār had become an appanage of the kingdom of Māna. The prince probably lost his life or was overthrown during the period of confusion following the incursions of Junaid in 'Uzain' and 'Al-Maliba. In the middle of the century Ujjain seems to have become a Rāshṭrakūṭa dependency.² Māna's possession in Mewār about this time passed under the control of a prince styled "Kukkreśvara" as evidenced by the Chitorgarh inscription of 754-55 A.D.³ We have no details about him and his precise relationship with the Rāshṭrakūṭas or their Pratihāra contemporaries can not be determined.

Towards the end of the eighth century or in the beginning of the next the hill forts of Mālava were conquered by the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa II.⁴ We learn from the Nilgūṇḍ and the Sirūr inscriptions of Amoghavarsha I that his father Govinda III 'fettered' the Gurjaras who dwelt on the hill forts of Chitrakūṭa (sa-Gūrjjaramś-Chitrakūṭa-giridurggasthān).⁵ Fleet is probably right in identifying the place with Chitor in Mewār.⁶ It may be pointed out in this connection that its identity with the sacred spot of the same name in Bundelkhand does not seem to be plausible. That place attained fame as a holy place and not as an important strategic or political centre. If our view^a be correct the Gurjara-Pratihāras were firmly established in the eastern parts of Mewār sometimes between 794 and 814 A.D.⁷ The conquest was made either by Vatsarāja (flo. 783-84 A.D.) or by Nāgabhaṭa II (flo. 815 A.D.). In spite of temporary setbacks the Gurjara hold was not relaxed upon the fort till about 939 A.D. The Karhad and the Deoli plates of Kṛishṇa III inform us that on hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds of the southern region (by Kṛishṇa while yet a crown prince) the hope about Kālīñjara and Chitrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gur-

jaras".⁸ This indicates continuation of some form of Gurjara occupation of Chitor till the expansion of the Rāshtrakūṭa power under Kṛishṇa III. The Pratīhāra king Mahendrapāla II seems to have recovered the lost ground as he exercised control over Mālwa in 946 A.D. as evidence by his Pratābgarh inscription.⁹

The epoch of Gurjara expansion and ascendancy in the countries with which we are immediately concerned probably extended from the close of the eighth to the middle of the tenth century—from the rise of Vatsarāja to the close of the reign of Mahendrapāla II. It is true that the Pratīhāra power was often challenged by the Rāshtrakūṭas of the south and the Pālas of eastern India, but on the whole they were able for more than a century (836-946 A.D.) to maintain themselves in Rājputāna and Mālwa against great odds.

To this period of Gurjara Pratīhāra ascendancy we should perhaps assign the reigns of the six Guhila princes—Bhatṛipatṭa I, who was a devotee of Śaṅkara.¹⁰ Siṃha, Khummāṇa II, Mahāyaka, Khummāṇa III and Bhatṛipatṭa II. The first four of these are mere names, and it is probable that they did not play any important part in the history of their family. We would not be far wrong if we hazard the conjecture that the Pratīhāras not only occupied Chitor, the name of whose local rulers are not definitely known, but also brought under their sway the small principality of the Guhilas which was then confined to the south-west of Mewār and had its capital probably at Nāgda or Āghāṭa.

The "fettering" of the Gurjaras of Chitrakūṭa by Govinda III obviously alludes to the defeat inflicted by him on Nāgabhaṭa II in c. 807-08 A.D.¹¹ It is not impossible that Chitrakūṭa was actually held for a time by the Rāshtrakūṭas. The Dabok inscription,¹² reveals that in 813 A.D. the rule of one Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Dhavalappadeva extended over Dhāvagarta, modern Dhor, in north-eastern Mewār. The identity of this prince is not known. The date of the inscription indicates his rise only a few years after the discomfiture suffered by Nāgabhaṭa II at the hands of Govinda III. It has been suggested, that the name of Dhavalappa indicates his southern origin.¹³ If this be regarded as correct then we should perhaps assume that Govinda III planted a colony in Mewār with Dhavalappa as its governor. Govinda's successor Amoghavarsha I was a mere boy at the time of his accession and a struggle for the throne broke out almost immediately. Taking advantage of this Dhavalappa seems to have assumed full sovereign titles.

It is interesting to note that the feudatory of Dhavalappa at Dhāvagarta was a Guhilaputra named Dhanika. The Nāsūn

inscription of 830 A.D. refers to a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Īśāṇabhaṭa, son of Dhanika.¹⁴ If the latter be identical with the homonymous person mentioned in the Dhor inscription of 813 A.D. then it is just possible that Īśāṇabhaṭa too was a feudatory of Dhavabappa or his successor. The Rāshtrakūṭa ascendancy probably did not last long. The Pratihāras under Bhoja I fully consolidated their power and retrieved their lost ground. The fortress of Chitor was probably recovered by them about this time.

We learn from the Benares grant of the Kalachuri prince Karṇa that his remotest ancestor Kokkalla I granted freedom from fear to Bhoja, Vallabharāja, Harsha, the Chitrakūṭa-bhupāla and Śaṅkaragaṇa.¹⁵ Chitrakūṭa of this passage is usually identified with the famous place of the same name in Bundelkhand and Harsha is taken to refer to the Chandella prince bearing the same appellation. There are, however, certain difficulties in accepting this view. We have already noted above that Chitrakūṭa in Bundelkhand was never regarded as an important military outpost or political centre. Hence Chitrakūṭa of this passage possibly refers to the famous hillfort of Mewār. Secondly there are some chronological difficulties in identifying Harsha with the Chandella prince of the same name. Kokkalla was the father-in-law of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II (c. 878-812 A.D.), and in all probability an elder contemporary of him. We may therefore place him in the latter half of the ninth century A.D. A Khajurāho inscription tells us that the Chandella Harsha (or his son Yaśovarman), placed Kshitipāla again on the throne.¹⁶ The last named prince is identified with the Pratihāra Mahīpāla, a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, who married a great-grand-daughter of Kokkalla and was himself a great-grand-son of Kokkalla through his daughter.¹⁷ The proposed identification of Harsha of the Benaras grant with Harsha Chandella would imply that the latter was at one and the same time a contemporary of Indra III and the father-in-law of that king's grand-father Kṛishṇa II. This does not seem to be probable. Hence for the identification of Kokkalla's contemporary we should perhaps turn to some other person. It is interesting to note that the Chāṭsu inscription of Guhila Bālāditya mentions a Guhila prince named Harsha who was a contemporary of a Bhoja and a Vallabharāja. To the former he presented a horse and the daughter of the latter he took as his wife.¹⁸ Bhoja is usually identified with the Pratihāra king Bhoja I (936 to 882 A.D.), who was a contemporary of Kokkalla—if our date for the Kalachuri prince is accepted. Hence the identity of Harsha, Bhoja, and Vallabharāja of the Chāṭsu inscription with Harsha, Bhoja and Vallabharāja of the Benares

grant can not be regarded as entirely impossible. The description of Harsha as Chitrakūṭa-bhupāla can easily be explained if we think that he acted as governor of the place on behalf of Bhoja, whom he offered horses according to the Chātsu record.

The death of the Pratihāra Mahendrapāla I, sometimes after c. 908 A.D., was followed by a period of turmoil. The hereditary enemies of the south renewed their incursions. Their king Indra III ravaged the fortune of Mahodaya sometime before 927 A.D. The evident weakness of the central power seems to have brought about a change in the status of the Guhila princes of south-western Mewār. Thus Mahayaka's son and successor Khummāṇa III is described in the Chitorgarh inscription of 1274 A.D. as one whose feet were illuminated by the crest jewels of princes (bhūpālachuḍāmaṇiṣrenigrahabhāsitaṃ[g]hriḥ).¹⁹ The Sādaḍī inscription of 1439 A.D. tells us that he made gifts of gold after weighing himself with his queen and son (rājñī-suta-yuta-svasuvarṇa-tulā-tolaka)²⁰ We should probably identify him with the prince of the same name who is credited with a similar Tulādāna in the Kumbhalgarh Praśasti (harshād-yo-tolayat-svañ-nija-suta-grihiṇī-saṃyutaṃ).²¹ It is further stated about Khummāṇa in the last mentioned record that he went out on a digvijaya in course of which he defeated the Aṅgas, Kalingas, Vaṅgas, Triliṅgas, Surāshṭras, Choḍas, Draviḍas and Gaudas.²² This description is perhaps conventional. But if one compares this account with the famous laud of Mahipāla (Pratihāra) in the Prachanḍa-pādava,²³ the conjecture may be hazarded that Khummāṇa had a share in the repulse of the southerners who invaded northern India under Indra III.

Khummāṇa III's son and successor Bhatṛipaṭṭa II is described in the Āṭpur inscription of 977 A.D. as an unique ornament of the three worlds (lokatrayakatilaka). In the Pratābgarh inscription of 942-43 A.D. he is styled a Mahārājādhirāja.²⁴ This suggests that he was able to improve further his position as a ruler. In this connection it is interesting to note that his queen Mahālakshmī was a Rāshtrakūṭa princess.²⁵ We have already referred to the claim made by Kṛṣṇa III that hearing of his conquests in the south (c. 939 A.D.) the Gurjaras gave up their hope regarding Kālīñjara and Chitrakūṭa. Some scholars think that he occupied these fortresses. What interests us most is the assumption of the title of Mahārājādhirāja by Bhatṛipaṭṭa, whose queen was born in the Rāshtrakūṭa family, within a very short time of the aforesaid claims of Kṛṣṇa III. After the middle of the 10th century we can no longer associate the Gurjaras with any

part of Mewār, and it is likely that they withdrew from this region not long afterwards.

We have two inscriptions of the time of Bhaṭṭaripaṭṭa II. The Partābgarh inscription of 942-43 A.D. records that he granted a piece of land situated in the Palaśakūpikāgrāma to the Sun God Indrāditya of Ghoṇṭāvarshikā. The temple was erected by the Chāhamana Indrāditya, a feudatory of the Pratihāra king Vināyakapāla.²⁶ This suggests that even in 942-43 A. D. Bhaṭṭaripaṭṭa did not probably repudiate his overlord. The other inscription is dated V.S. 1000(?) i.e. 943-44 A.D. It records the erection of a temple of Ādivarāha.²⁷

¹ Tod, II, 920-21.

² Cf. the Hiraṇyagarbhadāna of Dantidurga at Ujjain.

³ Tod, III, 1823.

⁴ E. I., XVIII, 108, Vr. 11.

⁵ E. I., VI, 102-7; E. I., VII, 205.

Fleet takes Gurjara and Chitrakūṭa separately (VI, 106; VII, 207).

⁶ E. I., VII, 207, n 10.

^{6a} As already stated Fleet takes Gujara and Chitrakuta separately.

⁷ The dates belong to the reign of Govinda III.

Fleet, Kanarese District, pp. 394-95.

⁸ E. I., IV, 284 (Verse 30), 289; E. I., V, 194 (Verse 25).

⁹ E. I., XIV, 182 n.

¹⁰ Bhāv. Ins., 75 (Vr. 27).

¹¹ Majumdar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 44.

¹² E. I., XX, pp. 122 ff. The Dhānop (in Shahpura chiefship) Inscriptions of Chahchha, dated 1006 A.D. reveals, the existence of a Rāshtrakūṭa principality in this region. But the date of the foundation is not known.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 123 n.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 123.

¹⁵ E. I., II, 300 ff (Vr. 7); D. H. N. I., II, 673, 753.

¹⁶ E. I., I, 122, line 10; D. H. N. I., II, 672.

¹⁷ Altekar, Rāshtrakūṭas (Genealogical Table on p. 104).

¹⁸ E. I., XII, 15, Verses 18, 19, 24.

¹⁹ Bhāv. Ins., 76, Vr. 36.

²⁰ Arch. Surv. Rep., (1907-8), 345 ff.

²¹ E. I., XXIV, Vr. 134.

²² *ibid.*, Vr. 136.

²³ D. H. N. I, Vol. I, 570 n.

²⁴ E. I., XIV, 187.

²⁵ I. A., 1910, p. 191.

²⁶ E. I., XIV, 176 ff.

²⁷ Hist. Rāj, I, 425.

CHAPTER VI

SUCCESSORS OF BHATŖIPATŖA II

We have now reached a stage in the history of Mewār when it emerges as a compact little principality with an organised administration, a flourishing commercial life and an intelligible system of foreign relations. The dominating factor in regard to the last mentioned aspect of its history is no longer the rivalry between the Pratīhāras in the north and the Rāshtrakūṭas in the south. The Pratīhāra power had received a serious blow by the loss of the fort of Gwalior which was occupied by the Kachchhapaghātas some time before 977 A.D. and the secession of its western and southern provinces. The Rāshtrakūṭa power collapsed in 973 A.D. after reverses sustained at the hands of the Paramāra Sīyaka and the Chālukya Taila II. The Paramāra was the new star that appeared in west Indian horizon. The period on which we now enter in the history of Mewār is in the main an age of Paramāra ascendancy which was not seriously challenged till the middle of the eleventh century. The chief antagonists of this power were the Chālukyas of Kalvānī, the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt, the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī (Sāmbhar region) and the Kalachuris of Dāhala in the Central Provinces. The last three play their part in the Mewār drama. With the fall of Bhoja Paramāra, and the period of confusion that followed, the present chapter ends.

In matters of administration the little Guhila principality is already possessed of a bureaucratic machinery. But signs were not wanting that centrifugal tendencies were at work. Some of the offices were becoming hereditary. The capital was located for some time at Āghāṭa where most of the inscriptions of the early successors of BhatŖipatŖa II have been found. Towards the end of the century the city was sacked by the famous Paramāra king Muñja. It seems that after this the importance of Āghāṭa was to some extent dimmed. The city named Nāgahrada comes prominently to the forefront. The Guhila principality also received some accretion of territory. In the Bijāpur Inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa Bālaprasāda of Hastikuṇḍī, dated 997 A.D. Āghāṭa is described as the pride of Medapāṭa.¹ This implies that part of the land of the Medas was incorporated with the Guhila

territory. A later prince of our period Haṁsapāla is styled in a Kalachuri record as a ruler of Prāgvata.^{1a} The exact identity of this place is not known. We have, however, as yet no evidence to suggest that the rule of the Guhīlas extended over any part of eastern Mewar, the chief centre of which was Chitrakūṭa or Chitor.

Having given a general survey of the period treated in this chapter, we now turn to a chronological account of the reigns of the princes of the age.

Bhatṛipatṭa II was succeeded by his son, Allāṭa, born of the Rāshṭrakūṭa queen, sometime before 951 A.D. He married Hariyadevī, a Hūṇa princess, apparently of the Huṇamandala referred to in a Gāonri Copper Plate inscription of Vākpati-Muñja². It may be noted that Allāṭa's Paramāra contemporary Harsha-Sīyaka, as well as his two immediate successors came in conflict with the Huṇas. It is not unlikely that the Huṇas entered into a marriage alliance with the Guhīlas in order to stem back the tide of Paramāra expansion. We learn from an unpublished fragmentary inscription from Āhār that Allāṭa killed his powerful enemy Devapāla. MM. Ojha has tentatively suggested that he might be identical with the successor of the Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla II who bore the same name^{2a}.

Interesting light is thrown on the internal administration in the days of Allāṭa by the Āhār Sāraṇeśvara temple inscription.³ It mentions a group of officials, namely the Sāndhivigrahika (minister of peace and war) Durlabharāja, Akshapaṭalika (keepers of records) Mayūra and Samudra, Vandipati (officer-in-charge of prison) Nāga, Bhishagarāja (Royal physician) Rudrāditya, Pratihāra (Chamberlain or Door Keeper) Yaśopushpa, and Amātya (Councillor) Mammata. The reference to a Bhishagarāja emphasizes the importance attached to the art of healing. The administrative machinery of the Guhīlas in these early times, broadly speaking, did not differ fundamentally from that prevailing under the Guptas and their successor in the Gangetic valley. The predominance of clan interest which was marked in later ages was possibly due to the growth of centrifugal forces and the need of adjusting the system to the situation created by foreign invasions.

We learn from the same record that Āghāṭa was visited by the merchants of Karṇāṭa (southern part of the Bombay Presidency with some adjoining areas), Madhyadeśa (Upper Ganges Valley), Lāṭa (South Gujarāt) and Takka (in the Punjab). This implies that the Guhila capital was in a flourishing state and constituted an important centre of trade which lay on a caravan route in Western India.

In the domain of religion the reign of Allaṭa saw the construction of the Sāraṇeśvara temple as evidenced by the famous record dated 1008 and 1010 V.S. (951 and 953 A.D.) found in it. It is interesting to note that a prominent part in the building of this edifice was taken by the queen-dowager Mahālakṣmī who belonged to a family (Rāshṭrakūṭa) that erected many of the most marvellous shrines of the Deccan.

Allaṭa's son and successor Naravāhana is spoken of in eulogistic terms in the Āṭpur inscription of 977 A.D. but we find no reference to any specific achievement of this prince. A fragmentary Āhār inscription (probably belonging to the reign of this king) tells us that he appointed Śrīpati, son of Mayūra in his father's post of Akshapaṭalika⁴. The tendency for the offices to become hereditary may be noted. The Ekliṅgī inscription of the time of Naravāhana dated 971 A.D. tells us that he was a worshipper of Śiva (Girisutāpati). It records the erection of the temple of the God Ekaliṅga by several members of the Lakuliśa-Pāśupata sect of the Saivas⁵. The epigraph is of interest as containing the earliest reference to the God Ekaliṅga, the patron deity of the royal house of Mewār. From the second century A.C. to the middle of the tenth Vishnu appears to have been the favourite deity. We now enter upon the period of Śaiva ascendancy.

Naravāhana probably married the daughter of the Chāhamāna prince Jejaya.⁶ Nothing is known about the next prince Śālivāhana. He obviously ruled for a very short time between 971 and 977 A.D., the dates of his father and son respectively.

Śālivāhana's son and successor Śaktikumāra is described in the Āṭpur inscription of 977 A.D. as being possessed of three elements of power (śaktitrayorjitaḥ), namely prabhuśakti (majesty), mantraśakti (counsel) and utsāhaśakti (energy). This suggests that the Guhila prince attained some importance as a ruler. He placed Mattaṭa and Guṇḍala, sons of Śrīpati, in charge of all the business of the city of Āghāṭa (Āhār or Āṭpur). The former also succeeded his father in his office of Akshapaṭalika.

The Bijāpur inscription of the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Bālaprasāda of Hastikuṇḍī, dated 997 A.D. credits his father Dhavala with having granted shelter to a king of Medapāṭa when Muñjarāja the famous Paramāra king destroyed Āghāṭa⁷. Dhavala in his old age abdicated his throne in favour of his son Bālaprasāda. Hence it is likely that the event alluded to occurred sometime before 997 A.D. This date also receives confirmation from the fact that Muñja himself was killed by the Chālukya Taila II of Kalyānī sometime between 994 and 997 A.D.⁸ The description of Āṭpur (identified with Āghāṭa) in the inscription of

Śaktikumāra, dated 977 A.D., suggests that the city was still intact till that date. Hence MM. Pandit Ojha may be right in assigning the Paramāra invasion to the reign of Śaktikumāra.

Inscriptions engraved on two pillars of the cenotaph of Rāvat Bham Singh of Deoli at Jīran (Gwalior state) dated 1000 A.D. and 1008 A.D. give to one Vighrahapāla, who was born in the family of the Guhilaputras of Nāghrāda the title mahāsāmāntādhipati.⁹ This shows that certain members of the Guhila family accepted a subordinate status under the suzerainty of some other power in the very beginning of the eleventh century A.D. The invasion of Muñja taken along with the known facts of the time of his nephew Bhoja suggest that in all probability the overlord was no other than the Paramāra ruler of Mālava. If this view be correct then either Vākpati Muñja, himself or his immediate successors Sindhurāja and Bhoja extended their authority over the Guhila principality.

Throughout the first half of the eleventh century Mewār seems to have constituted a dependency of Mālwa. The eastern part of the state, where stood the famous fortress of Chitor, was annexed by the Paramāras. We lost sight of Chitrakūṭa since it formed a bone of contention between Kṛishṇa III Rāshtrakūṭa, and his Pratīhāra contemporary. During the interval between the middle of the tenth century and the first quarter of the eleventh, we catch an interesting glimpse of the fortress in the annals of the Chauhans which state that the Nadol Chāhamāna Lakshmaṇa "collected transit duties from the further gate of Anhilwāra and levied tribute from the prince of Chitor"¹⁰. It is not known who this prince of Chitor was. We have, however, no evidence to connect him with the Guhila family of Āghāṭa and Nāghrāda.

In the thirties of the eleventh century we find the fort graced by the presence of the Paramāra monarch. We learn from the Tīrthakalpa of Jinaprabha Suri that Bhoja, son of Sindhurāja and nephew of Muñja, was living in Chitor in 1031 A.D.^{10a} Alberuni, the famous Muslim scholar refers to "Jattaur" as the capital of "Maiwar" about this period. We have already pointed out that N. L. Dey restored the word "Jattaur" as Jetuttara¹¹. There is, however, no epigraphic reference to the latter name about this time. Can Jattaur therefore stand for Chitor? The Chirwā inscription informs us that Bhoja built the Śiva temple of Tribhuvananārāyaṇa on the fort¹². His control over the Guhilas is implied by an Ujjain Plate inscription of 1078 V.S. (1021 A.D.), which speaks of a grant made by the king in Nāgdraha-paśchima-pathaka,¹³ which may be identical with Nāgdā. The Kumbhal-

gar Praśasti refers to a tank called Bhojasara near that city. Here we probably find another memorial of the rule of Bhoja^{13a}.

Śaktikumāra was succeeded by his son Ambāprasāda. In the Chitorgarh inscription of 1274^a A.D. he is described as a destroyer of all the arrogant Kshatriyas like Bhṛigupati (i.e. Paraśurāma)¹⁴. We learn from the Prithvīrāja-vijaya-mahākāvya of Jayanaka that he was sent to the abode of Yama with his army by Vākpati II, the Chāhamāna prince of Śākambharī (Sāmbhar)¹⁵.

We must place the date of the above event between 999 A.D., when Vākpati's grand father Durlabha was alive, and c.1055 A.D. when the Paramāra king Bhoja, the vanquisher of Vākpati's son Vīryārāma, was already dead and Jayasinha was on the throne of Mālwa. The period can be narrowed down still further when we remember that Govindarāja, the father of Vākpati is credited by the Prabandhakosha with a victory over Sultan Mahmud (of Ghazna) which must have taken place sometime between 1000 and 1026 A.D.^{16a}. We have adduced ground for the belief that the Guhila family was at this time in all probability a feudatory of Bhoja. The particular move of the Chāhamāna leader doubtless constituted a challenge to the authority of the suzerain at Dhārā. Retribution was not long delayed. Vīryārāma, the son and successor of Vākpati, paid by his life the penalty for the offence of his predecessor. The Prithvīrājavijaya states that he met his doom at the hands of Bhoja, the lord of Avanti¹⁶.

There is some confusion in regard to the names of the successors of Ambāprasāda. The Chitorgarh inscription of 1331 V.S. (1274 A.D.) and the Abu inscription of 1342 V.S. (1285 A.D.), when read together leave the impression that the three immediate successors of Ambāprasāda were Śuchivarman, Naravarman (II), and Kīrtivarman. The Āhār Hastamātā temple inscription¹⁷ informs us that Śuchivarman was a son of Śaktikumāra and hence a younger brother of Ambāprasāda. Naravarman is represented in the Abu inscription of 1285 A.D., as a son of Śuchivarman¹⁸. He would in that case have to be regarded as a nephew of Ambāprasāde. The Kumbhalgarh inscription, however, omits Śuchivarman and says that Ambāprasāda had three brothers, namely, Nṛvarman, (probably the same as Naravarman, nri and nara being synonymous), Anantavarman and Yaśovarman (probably the same as Kīrtivarman, yaśa and kīrti being synonymous). They seem to have ascended the throne one after another¹⁹. Then came Joga-rāja and with him the line of Śaktikumāra became extinct²⁰. The succession now devolved upon Vairāta, belonging to a collateral branch of the dynasty, who is represented as a descendant of Allata, the great-grand-father of Śaktikumāra²¹.

Very little is known of the immediate successors of Ambā-prasāda. They seem to have ruled for a short time. Neṇṣī records a kavitva (a versified saying) that Beraḍ (Vairāṭa) did not humble himself before the rulers of Gurjara and Ḍāhala.²² It is well known that the Paramāra king Bhoja fell before a league of princes amongst whom Chaulukya Bhīma I of Gujarāt and the Kalachuri Karṇa of Ḍāhala deserve special mention.²³ The tradition recorded by Neṇṣī seems to imply that Vairāṭa witnessed the overthrow of the ruler of Mālwa, who was for a time the overlord of Mewār, but did not submit to the victors.

No record has yet been discovered which may suggest that the immediate successors of Bhoja retained the suzerainty of the Guhila principality. It is possible that during the period of confusion following the death of the great king of Dhārā the ruler of Āghāṭa and Nāgahrada sought to recover his independence.

Vairāṭa's successor Hamsapāla is represented in the Bherāghāt inscription of Alhaṇadevī as having "humbled the circle of all his foes combined". We learn from the same source that his son Vairisimha, "whose feet were irradiated by the crest jewels of the diadems of all the tributary chiefs prostrating themselves (before him)",²⁴ occupied cities belonging to his enemies after driving them to take shelter in deep caves. It is difficult to say how far the above statement really corresponded to actual facts. In any case the enemies mentioned therein can not be definitely identified. Tod tells us that Bersi (probably Vairisimha) killed the Ajmer ruler Durlabharāja, apparently the third Chāhamāna prince of that name. But Prithvīrājavijaya informs us that he had a tragic end while fighting with the mātaṅgas²⁵. The freedom from the Mālwa tutelage synchronises with the restoration of the city of Āghāṭa which had been destroyed by Muñja. Vairisimha who accomplished it, surrounded the city by walls on all the four sides which were adorned with gopuras²⁶.

The next prince Vijayasimha ascended the throne towards the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. The Kadmal Plates of his reign dated 1164 V.S. (1108 A.D.) give him the epithet mahārāja. The Paldi inscription shows that he was still reigning in 1173 V.S. (1116 A.D.)²⁷. The revived power of the family is reflected in the matrimonial alliances concluded about this time. Vijayasimha married Śyāmaladevī, daughter of Udayāditya, lord of Mālava. Alhaṇadevī the child of this union—a daughter—was given in marriage with the Kalachuri prince Gayākarna of Tripurī. The accession of Vijayasimha took place at a time when the famous Chaulukya king Siddharāja-Jayasimha (c. 1094—c. 1144 A.D.) was just beginning his career of aggrandisement in

course of which he overthrew the kingdom of the Paramāras, pushed his frontiers beyond the Chambal, and for a time at least held possession of Śākambharī (Sāmbhar). The matrimonial alliances with the Paramāras and the Kalachuris may therefore imply that Vijayasimha was alive to the new danger.

¹ E. I. X, 20, 20, V., 10.

^{1a} Hist. Rāj, I, 305 n.

² E. I. XXIII, 102.

^{2a} Hist. Rāj, I, 428 n.

³ Bhāv. Ins. pp. 67 f.

⁴ Hist. Rāj, I, 429.

⁵ J.B.B.R.A.S., XXII, 166 ff; Bhāv. Ins., 70.

⁶ Cf. Āṭpur Ins. (I.A. 1910, 191). The passage is ambiguous.

⁷ E.I., X, 20, V. 10.

⁸ Fleet, Kanarese, District, 431; D.H.N.I., II, 857.

⁹ A.R.R.M. 1935-36, p. 2.

¹⁰ Tod, II, 808.

^{10a} Hist. Rāj, I, 435-36 n.

¹¹ Cf. p. 210.

¹² E. I., XII, 288, 290 (Vr. 31).

¹³ I. A., VI, 53.

^{13a} E. I., XXIV, 317.

¹⁴ Bhāv. Ins., 77 (Vr. 50).

¹⁵ Hist. Rāj, I, 439 n.

^{15a} D.H.N.I., II, p. 1068.

¹⁶ D.H.N.I., II, p. 1069.

¹⁷ Bhāv. Ins., p. 77, 85 ff.

¹⁸ Bhāv. Ins., p. 85, Vr. 23.

¹⁹ E. I., XXIV, 324 (Vr. 142).

²⁰ E. I., XXIV, p. 324, Vr. 143.

²¹ *Ibid.*, (Vr. 143).

²² Khyata, 20.

²³ D.H.N.I., II, 869.

²⁴ E. I., II, p. 12.

²⁵ Tod, I, 297; D.H.N.I., II, 1069.

²⁶ E. I., XXIV, 325 (V. 144).

²⁷ Hist. Rāj, I, 445 f.

CHAPTER VII

CHAULUKYAN ASCENDENCY

The rise of Siddharāja-Jayasimha of Gujarāt is a land-mark not only in the history of his own country but also of Central India and Rājputāna. The provenance of his inscriptions suggests that his dominions extended as far as Udaipur in Gwalior, as well as Koṭāh, Bānswāra, Jodhpur and Jaipur in Rājputāna¹. As the territories under the great Chaulukya king almost surrounded Mewār on all sides, it is hardly likely that the land of the Guhilas escaped his attention. We have definite evidence that his successor held possession of Mewār. The Sukṛitakīrtikallolinī states that Arjorāja, son of the Vāghela chief Dhavala, killed the ruler of Medapāṭa and Chandrāvātīpura, while serving under Kumārapāla, successor of Jayasimha². Jayasimha Suri, the author of the Kumārapālacharita, tells us that when his hero went on a digvijaya, the lord of Chitrakūṭa "showed his gratitude to him"³. We learn also from the same source that the order of the Chaulukya sovereign prohibiting the killing of animals within his dominions became effective among other places in Medapāṭa⁴. That these literary references to the extension of Kumārapāla's authority over Mewār are not mere exaggerations is proved by the Chitorgarh inscription of 1150 A.D. We learn from it that the king after defeating the ruler of Śākambharī and devastating the Sapādalaksha country came to Chitrakūṭa and there worshipped the god Samādhiśvara and his consort⁵. A Praśasti on stone found at the same place informs us that he built the temple of Varāha (Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu) on the fort, and granted to it the village called Dūnā-Udā and appointed as 'minister' one Someśvara⁶.

The Chaulukya suzerainty thus established survived till the opening years of the thirteenth century. This is evidenced by the Āhār grant of Bhīma II, dated 1263 V.S. (1207 A.D.), which expressly tells us that Medapāṭa was being enjoyed by that king (svabhujyamāna-Medapāṭa-maṇḍala)⁷. The facts stated above clearly indicate that the successors of Guhila Vijāyasimha whom we have seen in the last chapter entering into matrimonial alliances probably to cope with the Chaulukya menace, failed to retain their independence. It is only after the murder of

Kumārapāla, when his throne passed into the possession of Ajavapāla, that a bid for complete autonomy was made by a ruler of Āghāṭa and Nāgahrada. Although temporarily successful the movement was premature. A new enemy, namely the Songirā (a branch of the Chāhamānas) chief of Jālor swooped down upon the Guhila territory and ousted its legitimate prince. This fresh danger necessitated the acceptance of the overlordship of the powerful king of Anhilwāra once again.

Before we deal with the little war of independence waged against the Chaulukya hegemony in the seventies of the twelfth century it is necessary to say a few words about the successors of the Guhila Vijavasimha. The information transmitted regarding them is confusing. The accounts of different authorities, meagre as they are, differ in important particular.

According to the Abu inscription of 1285 A.D. the successors of Vijavasimha were Arisimha, his son Choḍasimha and his son Vikramasimha. Then came Kshemasimha, and his son was Sāmanatasimha⁷. The Sādaḍī (Rānpur) inscription of 1439 A.D. omits the name of Vijavasimha and places the following princes after Vairisimha, namely, Virasimha, Arisimha, Choḍasimha, Vikramasimha, Raṇasimha, Kshemasimha and Sāmantasimha.⁸ The Kumbhagarh epigraph gives the following order of succession. Vairisimha had twenty-two sons. One of them became king after him. His son was Suvairasimha, after whom came his son Arisimha. He was succeeded by Choḍa, followed by his elder brother (agraja-bandhuḥ) Vikramakeśarī, his son Raṇasimha, Kshemasimha (younger brother of Ma(t)hanasimha) and his son Sāmantasimha⁹. The Ekalīṅga Māhātmya of the time of Rāṇa Kumbhā contains two new names, Puñja and his son Karṇa. From the latter, we are told, sprang up two lines of princes having the appellations Rāula and Rāṇā. In the Rāula branch were born Jitasimha (Jaitrasimha), Iejasimha and Samarasimha, who ruled at Chitrakūṭa. In the other branch were born the famous kings Rāhapa, Māhapa and their descendants. After the death of Karṇa, Rāhapa obtained the Rāṇāship,¹⁰. MM. Ojha is inclined to identify Raṇasimha, son of Vikramasimha with Karṇa son of Puñja¹¹. But the proposed identifications are difficult to accept. There is no agreement, philological or other, between the names Vikrama and Puñja or between Raṇa(simha) and Karṇa. We must await fresh discoveries for elucidation of the relationship of the princes of the period between Vijayasimha and Kshemasimha. In regard to Kshema we have the meagre, and possibly conventional, statement that he brought peace on earth by extirpating all

thorns (samastoddhṛita-kaṇṭakāḥ) probably in the shape of his enemies¹².

With the accession of Sāmantasimha we once more enter upon the terra firma of solid facts. Two inscriptions of his own time have been discovered, viz., the Jagat inscription of 1228 V.S. (1171 A.D.) and the Solaj inscription of 1236 V.S. (1179 A.D.)^{12a}. These show that the reign of Sāmantasimha extended from c.1171 c.1179 A.D. Luders identifies him with a homonymous prince mentioned in the Abu inscription of 1287 V.S. (1230 A.D.)¹³. The record tells us that Prahlādana, younger brother of the Paramāra chief Dhārāvarsha (c.1163-1219 A.D.) of Abu, defended the lord of Gurjara when his power had been broken by Sāmantasimha in the battlefield. If the proposed identification stands, the Guhila prince must have asserted his independence by repudiating the Chaulukyan suzerainty. Luders thought that the defeated king was Bhūma II.^{13a}. But MM. Ojha draws our attention to a passage of the Surothotsavakāvya which seems to imply that Sāmantasimha's adversary was Ajayapāla (c. 1172-c. 1174), the immediate successor of Kumārapāla¹⁴. The time chosen by Sāmantasimha for the attempt to throw off the yoke of Gujarāt was opportune. The murder of Kumārapāla in c. 1172 A.D. had thrown the Chaulukya dominions into a state of confusion. The evidence of Merutuṅga suggests that his successors Ajayapāla behaved like a tyrant and was finally stabbed to death by his Pratīhāra (chamberlain)¹⁵. In view of these developments in the internal politics of Gujarāt the activities of the Guhila prince do not cause surprise.

Sāmantasimha not only crossed sword with his overlord, but also occupied part of Vāgaḍa (Dungarpur-Bānswāra) which, as the evidence of the Talwara image inscription indicates, was incorporated within the Chaulukya dominions by Siddharāja-Jayasimha¹⁶. The Abu inscription of 1285 A.D. describes Sāmantasimha as a seizer of all the belongings of his feudatories (apahṛita-sāmanta-sarvasva)¹⁷. This may imply either his successes over petty princelings or an attempt on his part to set up a centralised administration.

Among princes hostile to the Guhilas two other deserve special mention, viz.,—Prahlādana the Paramāra, and Kīrtipāla the Chāhamāna. References have already been made to the attempt of Prahlādana, brother of Dhārāvarsha of Abu, to protect the ruler of Anhilwāra. Kīrtipāla, the founder of the Songīra Chāhamāna chiefship of Jālor also tried to fish in the troubled waters. He is said to have driven out Sāmanta from his territory and for a time dispossessed the Guhilas. But this view rests upon

evidence which is capable of a different interpretation. We shall try to show below that the attack and its subsequent repulse, would have to be assigned to the reign of Sāmantasimha's successor¹⁸. Some scholars are inclined to include Kīrtipāla among the Gurjara king's vassals, but there are difficulties in the way of accepting this view. We learn from the Sundha Hill inscription that the Songīra prince attacked Asala, the chief of Kirātakūṭa (Kirātakūpa), identified with Kiradu in the Jodhpur state. This place formed an integral part of the Chaulukya dominions. As late as 1235 V.S. (c. 1178 A.D.) Madanabrahma was ruling at Kirātakūpa as a feudatory of Bhīma II of Anhilwāra.¹⁹ Hence Kīrtipāla cannot be regarded as very friendly to the Chaulukya king. As a matter of fact he seems to have been a condottiere, who sought to aggrandise himself at the cost of the neighbours without making any distinction between the Guhilas and the Chaulukyas.

The exact date of the termination of the reign of Sāmantasimha is not known. It has been suggested on the authority of Neṣṣī that he abdicated his throne, retired to Vāgaḍa and there carved out a new kingdom for himself.²⁰ The present rulers of Dungarpur and Bānswara are represented as his descendants. The occupation of a part of Vāgaḍa by Sāmanta may be accepted as it rests upon epigraphic evidence, viz.,—the Solaj inscription of 1236 V.S. (1179 A.D.) found within the borders of Dungarpur. But the name read as Sāmantasimha, in the Khyāta of Neṣṣī, is really Samarasimha in the original. MM. Ojha prefers the reading Sāmanta because, according to him, in the Dungarpur Khyāta of Neṣṣī the name Sāmanta has been written instead of Samara. But in the translation of Neṣṣī's Dungarpur Khyāta, made by Rāmanārāyaṇa Duḡaḍa, we find the name of Samara and not of Sāmanta.²¹ The author of the Rājaprasāstī Mahākāvya, a contemporary of Neṣṣī, relates an identical tradition in connection with Samara.^{21a} In view of all this we think that the correct form of the name of the prince in the Dungarpur Khyāta is Samarasimha, and the whole story regarding the abdication of a Guhila prince, is to be assigned to him and not to Sāmanta.

Samantasimha was succeeded by his brother Kumārasimha. His reign period falls some time between 1179 A.D., the last known date of his predecessor, and 1182 A.D. the first known date of his successor. The Abu inscription of 1285 A.D. records that Kumārasimha 'rescuing Vasumatī (the lady Earth), who had gone to the enemy, once more gave her, the (rightful) king and made her, whose splendour had been tarnished by separation from the descendant of Khummāṇa (like) one who knew no separation

(i.e., made her forget the pangs of separation from the dynasty of the Guhilas)".²² Light is obtained in this connection from the Kumbhalgarh Praśasti which tells us that Kumārasimha after expelling a prince styled Kītu, who had seized his *own* kingdom (savarājya) made Āghāṭapura his own (*svīkṛitam*) by propitiating the Gurjara king.²³ Kītu in the above passage has been identified with Kīrtipāla the Songīra chief of Jālor. In our opinion svarājya in the expression svarājyagrahinam of the Kumbhalgarh Praśasti²⁴ refers to Kumāra's *own* realm and not to that of his predecessor as some scholars think.²⁵ Kumāra's success against Kītu must have been facilitated by his sagacity in propitiating the Gurjara king, who should be identified with Bhīma II (c. 1178-1238 A.D.).

The two immediate successors of Kumārasimha were Mathanasimha and his brother Padmasimha. Their relationship with their predecessor is not known. The Ātā temple inscription of 12(3)9 V.S. (1182 A.D.) styles Mathana as a Mahārājādhirāja and says that he was ruling at Nāgahrada.²⁶ We learn from the Chirwā inscription of 1273 A.D. that he appointed Uddharaṇa as the talāraksha of that city.²⁷ The latter's descendants held similar posts under the successors of Mathana and rendered valuable services to their masters. Padmasimha made a gift of the village of Chirakūpa (Chirwā) situated near Nāgahrada to Yogarāja, eldest son of Uddharaṇa. Both Mathana and Padma continued to be vassals of the Gurjara king. This is proved by the Āhār grant of Bhīma II Chaulukya, dated 1263 V.S. (1207 A.D.), who made a gift of Āghāṭa, situated in the Medapāṭamaṇḍala, which was being enjoyed by him (svabhujyamāna Medapāṭamaṇḍala).

¹ D.H.N.I., II: 949.

² *Ibid.*, 1027.

³ *Ibid.*, 985.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 993.

^{5a} E. I., II, 422 f.

⁵ A.R.R.M. 1930-31, pp. 2-3.

⁶ Pro. A. I. Oriental Conference (Baroda), p. 646, I 1.

⁷ I. A.; XVI, 345 ff.

⁸ Arch. Surv. Rep. 1907-8, 345 ff.

⁹ E. I., XXIV, 325.

¹⁰ Rāj. Hist. I, 447 n.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 446, 448 n.

¹² Bhāv. Ins., 86, Verse 34.

^{12a} Dr. Bhandarkar attributes to Sāmantasimha several other inscriptions which are dated between V.S. 1256 and V.S. 1258. All these records have been found in the Jodhpur State. The identity of this Sāmanta with the Guhila Sāmanta cannot be maintained in view of the discovery of the Ātā temple inscription of 1239 V.S. of the time of a later prince named Mathanasimha.

Besides, Guhila Sāmanta is not known to have ruled in any part of the Jodhpur state.

¹³ E.I., VIII, 202 ff.

^{13a} *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Hist. Rāj. 449 f.

¹⁵ D.H.N.I. II, 998, 1002 f, 1182.

¹⁶ D.H.N.I., II, 967.

¹⁷ Bhāv. Ins., 86 Verse, 36.

¹⁸ Hist. Rāj. I. 451; D.H.N.I., II, 1182 f.

¹⁹ D.H.N.I., II, 1124; E.I. XI, 72, 73.

²⁰ Hist. Rāj, I, 453.

²¹ Khyāta, 78; Hist. Rāj, I, 454n2.

^{21a} Hist. Rāj. I, 455n.

²² Sho(Kho)mināna - santati - vioyga - vilaskha - Lakshmīmenā-
adṛiṣṭa virahān Guhilānvayasya rājanvatīn vasumatīm-akarot
Kumārasimhastato ripugatāmapahṛitya bhūyaḥ (Abu Ins. v. 37,
Bhāv. Ins., 86).

²³ bhrātā Kuma(mā)rasimho bhūt svarājyagrāhinān param
deśānnikkā(shkā)sayāmāsa Kītusamjñān nṛpaṁ tu yaḥ, E.I.
XXIV, 325.

²⁴ Cf. the above foot-note.

²⁵ Hist. Rāj. I, 452 ff. D.H.N.I. II, 1183 f.

²⁶ A.R.R.M. 1927-28, p. 3.

²⁷ E.I. XXII, 285ff.

CHAPTER VIII
THE END OF CHAULUKYAN SUZERAINTY
AND
THE CONSOLIDATION OF GUHILA RULE IN MEWĀR

Padmasinha, whom we have seen in the last chapter as content with a position of vassalage under Bhīma II of Gujarāt, was succeeded by his son Jaitrasinha, one of the great figures in Guhila history. The Eklingjī Temple inscription of his time shows that his accession took place sometime before 1270 V.S. (1213 A.D.). The earliest known date of his successor is possibly 1309 V.S. (1252 A.D.).¹ Hence it will not be unreasonable to suppose that his reign extended over a long period, and covered almost the whole of the first half of the thirteenth century.

We learn from the Ghagasa inscription of 1322 V.S. (1265 A.D.) that the pride of this prince could not be broken by the lords of the Gurjaras, the Mālavas, the Turushkas and the ruler of Śākanubharī.² Almost identical information is contained in the Chirwā inscription. It says that the honour of this prince could not be soiled by rulers of Mālava, Gurjara, Māḍa, Jāṅgala and the lord of the Mlechchhas.³ These statements imply that Jaitrasinha came into conflict with all the neighbouring powers and successfully defended his own position.

The most momentous of these struggles seems to have been the one that he fought against the Gurjaras. We have seen that the evidence of the Āhār inscription of 1263 V.S. (1207 A.D.) leaves no room for doubt that the Chaulukya hegemony in Mewār survived till the beginning of the thirteenth century. But the condition of the central government of the Chaulukyas had become deplorable. About 1223 A.D. the throne of Anhilwāra was occupied by an usurper, and subsequently the intrigues of the Dholka chiefs, Lavanaprasāda and his son Vīradhavalā and other high officials, atrophied the limbs of the body politic. An excellent opportunity was thus offered to those who desired to defy the Gurjara (Chaulukya) power.

The Hammiramadamardana of Jayasinha informs us that Jayatala (identified with Jaitrasinha) did not join Vīradhavalā, the minister of Bhīma II, when the Turushka-vīras (i.e. the Muslims) made an attack upon Gujarāt.⁴ This recalcitrant attitude

of the Guhila prince suggests that he probably declared his independence sometime before the foreign invasion referred to above. The Chirwā inscription informs us that Bālā (who belonged to the family of Uddharaṇa (who was appointed the talāraksha of Nāgahrada by Mathanasimha, the uncle of Jaitrasimha), was killed in the presence of Jaitrasimha, while fighting with Rāṇaka Tribhuvana for the seizure of Kottadaka (Kotran, Mewār).⁵ Geiger has identified Tribhuvana with the Chaulukya Tribhuvanapāla II (flo. 1242) probably a successor of Bhīma II.⁶ If Geiger is correct, all vestige of the Chaulukya control over Mewār must have disappeared during the reign of Tribhuvana.

The Mālava contemporaries of Jaitrasimha were the Paramāra Arjunavarman (c. 1211-15 A.D.), Devapāla (c. 1218-32 A.D.), Jaitugi (c. 1236-43 A.D.) and possibly Jayavarman (alias Jayasimha) II (c. 1254-69 A.D.). It is not exactly known with which of these princes the Guhila ruler came into collision. We learn from the Chirwā inscription of 1273 A.D. that Madana, while fighting for Jesala, displayed great valour by punishing the Pañchalaguḍika Jaitramalla on the battle field Utthunaka (Arthuna in Bānswāra).⁷ MM. Ojha identifies Jesala with Jaitrasimha and Jaitramalla with Jaitugi.⁸ But these identifications present difficulties. The name of Jaitrasimha occurs several times in the inscription, and it is not clear why only once he should be referred to as Jesala. Most probably the prince was identical with Jayasimha of Vāgaḍa (Dungarpur-Bānswāra) for whom we have the date V.S. 1308 (1251 A.D.),⁹ and within whose kingdom Utthunaka was situated. It will be shown a few pages later on that this ruler was possibly a grandson of Jaitrasimha. Madana fought on the side of Jayasimha because of the close relation subsisting between the ruling families of Mewār and Vāgaḍa. Jaitramalla, we think should be identified with the Chāhamāna Jaitrasimha of Ranthambhor "who harassed Jayasimha of Maṇḍapa" (Māṇḍu),¹⁰ i.e. the Paramāra prince Jayavarman II (C. 1254-69), and also probably made incursions into the territory of Vāgaḍa.

The Muslim invasion towards the close of the twelfth century introduced a factor of capital importance in Indian politics. The proud kingdom of the Chauhān king Prithvirāja III was broken up and large parts of it had passed into the hands of the generals of Shihābuddin of Ghūr. The invaders ravaged the Maru-Māḍa (portions of Mārwar and Jaisalmer) region and in 1197 A.D. inflicted a crushing defeat on Bhīm Dīw, Rāe of Nahrwāla (Anhilwāra, capital of Gujarāt). In 1206 the foundation of the Sultanate of Delhi was firmly laid by Qutb-ud-din (1206-1210 A.D.), and under Iltutmish (1211-1236) it grew into a powerful empire.

Mewār did not escape the deluge that was overwhelming some of its neighbours. Reference to an Islamic invasion in the time of Jayatāla (Jaitrasīmha) is found in the *Hammira-madamardana*. We find in it a vivid description of the intense suffering inflicted on the people, whose territory was burnt, and children butchered.¹¹ The name of the invader is given as 'Mīlachchhṛī-kāra'. He is taken by several scholars to be identical with Shams-ud-din Iltutmish.¹² It is difficult to determine the time of this invasion. The absence of the name of Lavaṇaprasāda and the reference to his son Vīradhavalā as the ruler of Dholka at the time of this invasion suggest that it was launched after the death of the former. MM. Ojha thinks that the destruction of Nāgahrada and the death of Pamarāja at Bhūtala (12 miles from Nāgdā) referred to in the Chirwā inscription of 1273 A.D. took place about this time.

Firishta tells us that in 646H (1248 A.D.) Jalal-ud-din, brother of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud, of Delhi was recalled from Kanauj. He trembled for his personal security and fled towards Chitor. The Sultan went in pursuit but failed to capture him.¹³ Whether Nasir-ud-din came into collision with the ruler of Mewār, who was either Jaitrasīmha or his son Tejasīmha, is not clear from the above account.

It has been suggested that the rulers of Śākambharī (Sāmbhar) and Jāngala (Bikaner region) with whom Jaitrasīmha came in to conflict were governors of the Sultanate of Delhi.¹⁴ These territories passed into the hands of the Muslims after the fall of Prithvīrāja III Chauhāna, and, excepting for short intervals, remained mostly in their hands. It is not altogether impossible that they led occasional raids into the neighbouring territory of Mewār. MM. Ojha finds a reference to the Gubila prince's conflict with a Muslim ruler of Sind in the statement of the Abu inscription of 1285 A.D. that the Piśāchas gladdened by the embraces of mistresses intoxicated with the blood of the Sindhuka army, even now praise Jaitrasīmha.¹⁵ Sindhuka may, however, refer to an individual and not to a province, but in that case his identity is not known.

In his struggle with the Sultāns of Delhi or their captains the ruler of Mewār may have suffered some grievous losses, but, on the whole, he successfully piloted the vessel of state, during this difficult period. The later praśastikāras therefore did not err when they described him as *Turushkasanyārṇavakumbhayoniḥ*.¹⁷

The lord of Māḍa (Mārwār region) against whom Jaitrasīmha had to fight has been identified by MM. Ojha with the Songīra Chāhamāna Udayasīmha (c. 1205-1249 A.D.). The Abu inscrip-

tion of 1285 A.D. tells us that he rooted out Naddūla (Nādol). MM. Ojha thinks that the raid was made as a retaliatory measure for Kīrtipāla's invasion of Mewār referred to in the last chapter.¹⁸

In the domain of internal politics the greatest achievement of Jaitrasimha seems to have been the consolidation of the power of his family over a considerable portion of Mewār and the neighbouring territories of Dungarpur and Bāswāra. We learn from the Kumbhalgarh inscription that this prince exercised his sway over the four territorial divisions of Chitrakūṭa, Āghāṭa, Medapāṭa and Vāgaḍa.¹⁹ Of these Āghāṭa was undoubtedly the ancestral province. The Bijāpur inscription of 997 A.D. it may be remembered describes it as 'the pride of Medapāṭa'. But here the two are clearly distinguished. Hence Medapāṭa of the Kūmbhalgarh Praśasti may mean, the land of the Medas, which at this period most probably occupied the north-western parts of the state. The inclusion of Chitor within the limits of Jaitrasimha's territory is also proved by the Chirwā inscription which states that he appointed Kshema as the talāraksha of the fort.²⁰ Parts of Vāgaḍa were occupied by Sāmantasimha as early as 1179 A.D. The land possibly passed under the suzerainty of the Chaulukyas when Kumārasimha accepted Bhīma II as his overlord. It was being ruled in 1242 V.S. (1185 A.D.) by a feudatory Guhila prince named Amṛitapāladeva.²¹ An inscription of 1291 V.S. (c. 1234 A.D.) refers to Mahārāja Sihaḍadeva as the ruler of Vagaḍa-Vaṭapadrakamaṇḍala.²² The Jagat inscription of 1306 V.S. (1249 A.D.) informs us that he was the son of Jayatasi(sim)ha of the Gohila family.²³ In view of the statement of the Kumbhalgarh inscription that Jaitrasimha ruled over Vāgaḍa, we are inclined to identify him with Jayata-simha of the Jagat inscription. It seems that the ruler of Āghāṭa after the declaration of his independence reannexed the territory temporarily occupied by one of his ancestors and appointed his own son to its governorship. Sihaḍa (of Vāgaḍa) was succeeded by Jayasimha (c. 1251 A.D.) who was probably the son of the former. The close relationship existing between the rulers of Madapāṭa and Vāgaḍa is attested by the fact that Madana, a grandson of Kshema the Talāraksha of Jaitrasimha, proved his valour on the battle field of Utthunaka (Arthuna in Bānswāra) while fighting on the side of Jesala (identified by us with Jayasimha of Vāgaḍa) against Jaitramalla (identified by us with a Chāhamāna prince of Ranthambhor).²⁴ Sihaḍa's descendant continued to rule in Vāgaḍa and gradually attained an independent status. While the connection of the Guhila power in Durgapur and Bānswāra dates back to the time of Sāmantasimha,

the founder of the present royal lines of these states in our opinion was Sihaḍa, son of Jaitrasimha.

The principal capital of Mewār during the reign of Jaitrasimha till the Muslim invasion, referred to above remained at Nāgahrada.²⁵ We also find reference to several state officials of his time. Mahāmātya (chief minister) Duṅgarasimha was in charge of Śrī Karaṇa (Secretariat) in V.S. 1279 (1222 A.D.); Mahāmātya Jagatsimha carried all the business of the seal (samastamudrāvyāpāraṁ) and Kshema was the talāraksha (commandant and police magistrate) of Chitor.²⁶

In the Colophon of the Pākshikavṛitti Jaitrasimha is most respectfully described as Mahārājādhirāja-Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-Dakṣiṇa-dambarādhīśa-māna-mardana.²⁷ This shows that he made a profound impression upon the minds of his people.

Jaitrasimha was succeeded in Mewār by Tejasimha. His accession took place sometime before c. 1252 A.D. The last known date of his reign is supplied by the Chitorgarh inscription of 1324 V.S. (c. 1267 A.D.).²⁸ The Colophon of the Mss. of the Śrāvaka-pratikramaṇa-sūtra-chūrṇi, which was composed at Āghāṭa during his reign, described him as Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭaraka - Umāpati-vara-labdha-prauḍha-pratāpa-samalan-kṛita-Śrī-Tejasimhadeva.²⁹ The first half of the above passage clearly indicates that the Guhila prince claimed a sovereign status. The appearance of epithets, which are generally found in the records of the Chaulukya king, in the latter half of the sentence, is also very suggestive. It shows that the successor of Jaitrasimha now regarded himself in every respect as equal of the ruler of Anhilwāra.³⁰

During the earlier part of Tejasimha's reign there were two Muslim incursions into his territory. In 651 H. (1253-54 A.D.) Ulugh Khan-i-A'zam, the vizir of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud (who later on ascended the throne of Delhi under the name Ghiyas-ud-din Balban) lost the confidence of his master and retired to Nagaur. Minhaj-ud-din tells us that about this time he led the arms of Islam towards the territory of Rantambhor, Bundi and Chitrur (Chitor).³¹ But no details of this expedition are recorded. The same Khan invaded the Mewār territory a second time in 653 H (1255-56 A.D.). Saif-ud-din Qutlugh Khan (step father of Sultan Nasir-ud-din Mahmud) was removed from the Government of Oudh and headed an unsuccessful rebellion. In the end he fled towards Chitor. Ulugh Khan pursued him and destroyed the fort in which he sought refuge. But being unable to secure the person of the rebel he returned to Delhi.³² This incident is perhaps referred to in the Chirwā inscription which

informs us that Ratna, son of Kshema (the talāraksha of Jaitrasimha) was killed along with Bhīmasimha in a battle fought at the foot of the fortress of Chitor.³³

In the Kadi inscription of V.S. 1317 (1260 A.D.) the Vāghelā ruler Viśāladeva (successor of Tribhuvanapāla), is described as an axe to the creeper that was the country of Medapāṭa.³⁴ This suggests that Tejasimha, like his father, came into hostility with the ruler of Anhilwāra. It is not improbable that the assumption of the sovereign titles and of the epithets of the Chaulukya kings by Tejasimha followed this conflict between him and Viśāladeva. It may be noticed that the dates of the Mss. of the Śrāvaka-pratīkramana-sūtra-chūrṇi and of the Kadi grant fell in the same year i.e. V.S. 1317 (1260 A.D.).

During the reign of Tejasimha Bilhana was in charge of the Śrī Karaṇa (secretariat) and Samuddhara was carrying out the business of the seal.³⁵

¹ It is supplied by the Colophon of a Mss. of the Pākshikavṛitti. The passage runs thus:—Saṁvat 1309 varshe Māgha vadi 14 some svasti śrīmad - Āghāte Mahārājādhirāja - Bhagavan Nārāyaṇa Dakṣiṇa-dambarādhiśa-mānamardana Jayasimhadeva—tatpāṭa-vibhushaṇa-rājā Śrī Tejasimha-vijaya-rājye . . . etc.

(Śrī-praśasti-Saṁgrah (by A. M. Saha), I, p. 1. Ojha reads Jayasimha tatpāṭavibhushaṇarājāsrite Jayasimha vijayarajye and refers to composition of the work to the reign of Jaitrasimha (Hist. Rāj. I, 47 xxii n). We think that the reading of the Śrī-Praśasti-Saṁgraha is the correct one.

² A.R.R.M., 1926-27. p. 3.

³ E.I., XXII, 285 ff.

⁴ Hammiramadamardana (G.O.S.) 271.

⁵ E.I., XXII, 285 ff.

⁶ D.H.N.I. II, 1187.

⁷ E.I. XXII, 285 ff.

⁸ Hist. Rāj. I, 462-63.

⁹ Bhandarkar's list of inscriptions No. 546.

¹⁰ Hammiramadamardana, Act III.

¹¹ S. R. Bhandarkar's Report (1907), 15 ff.; Hist. Raj. I, 467.

¹² Hist. Rāj, I, 463, an attack upon Chitor by Shams-uddin (Iltutmish) is also recorded by Tod. (I. 305).

¹³ Briggs. I, 238, Hist. Rāj, I, 466.

¹⁴ I.A. 1928, 32; D.H.N.I., II, 1187-88.

¹⁵ Hist. Rāj, I, 468.

¹⁶ Bhāv. Ins. 86, Verse 42.

¹⁷ Hist. Rāj, I, 462; I.A. 1928, 33. Dr. Roy thinks that Dr. Bhandarkar's conjecture that the destruction of Naddūla took place when Qutb-uddin was in possession of eastern Mārwār as not impossible. D.H.N. I, II, 1188.

¹⁸ E.I. XXIV, 313, 325 (Verses 154-55).

¹⁹ E.I. XXII, 285, 290.

- ²¹ Hist. Rāj, III, 50.
²² Hist. Rāj, III, 56n.
²³ *Ibid.*, 36n.
²⁴ E.I. XXII, 285 ff. Cf. p. 256 above.
²⁵ Cf. Kūmbhalgarh inscription (E.I. XXIV, 325) Śrīman-Nāga-
hradeśau vilasati, etc. (Verse 155).
²⁶ Hist. Rāj, I, 470-71.
²⁷ Śrī-Praśasti-Saṅgrahah, 1f; Hist. Rāj, I, 471n.
²⁸ Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 570.
²⁹ Hist. Rāj, I, 473n.
³⁰ D.H.N.I., II, 1191.
³¹ Tab-i-Nasri (Raverty), 827-28; I.A. 1928, 33.
³² Briggs, I, 242; I.A., 1928, pp. 33-34.
³³ E.I. XXII, 285, 290.
³⁴ I.A., VI, 210 ff.
³⁵ Hist. Rāj, I, 474; Śrī-Praśasti Saṅgrahah, I, p.1f. for a list of
inscription of the time of Tejasimha cf. Hist. Rāj, I, 473-74.

CHAPTER IX

CONFLICT WITH SULTAN ĀLĀ-UD-DIN KHALJI AND THE FALL OF CHITOR

Tejasimha was succeeded by his son Samarasimha who was born of Jayatalladevī.¹ A large number of inscriptions belonging to his reign have been discovered. They give for him dates ranging from V.S. 1330 to 1358 (c. 1273-1302).² Unfortunately we cannot extract much information from these records. We learn from the Kumbhalagarh inscription that Samarasimha got the imperial fortune (sāmrajyalakṣmī) by seizing lands belonging to others.³ This statement, however, is too vague, and does not admit of verification. The evidence of Nayachandra, the author of the Hammira-mahākāvya, suggests that the Chāhamāna prince Hammira of Ranthambhor, in course of an expedition to the south, ravaged the land of Medapāṭa in this reign.⁴

The Abu inscription tells us that Samarasimha, like a Primeval Boar, lifted up the land of the Gurjaras out of the ocean of the Turushkas.⁵ This implies that the king of Mewār forgetting the hereditary rivalry rendered some help to the Vāghela ruler Sāraṅgadeva (c. 1275-1295 A.D.) of Gujarāt. As the date of the inscription is 1342 V.S. (1285 A.D.), the event must have happened sometime before. It is difficult to identify the invader of the Gurjara country. The contemporary Sultan of Delhi was Ghias-ud-din Balban (1266-87 A.D.),⁶ but he is not known from other sources to have led an expedition to western India.

Jinaprabha in his Tīrthakalpa refers to a conflict between Ulugh Khan, brother of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji, and Samarasimha. The author tells us that the Guhila prince saved Mevāḍa by punishing Ulugh Khan. The date of the event is given as 1356 V.S. (1299 A.D.) As Jinaprabha was a contemporary writer his statement may be regarded as reliable.⁷

The incident, though perhaps insignificant in its immediate effect, foreboded coming evils. Samarasimha died within about two years and was succeeded by his son Ratnasimha 1259 V.S. (c. 1302-03 A.D.). The royal brother of Ulugh Khan (Ala-ud-din Khalji) was a famous conqueror. He loved to call himself Sikaṇḍar Sāni (the second Alexander), and it was his ambition to

emulate the achievements of the great Macedonian. The Sultān, however, was prudent enough to confine his energies within the limits of India, and many ancient kingdom of the Hindus fell like houses of cards at the touch of his mighty arms. It is not surprising that the discomfiture suffered by his brother at the hands of Samarasimha would be sought to be avenged by Ala-ud-din Khalji. The famous siege and capture of the fortress of Chitor was the result.

The event has been described in later works such as the *Padumāvat*, the *Āin-i-Akbari*, the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, the *Khyāta of Neṣī*, the *Rājaprasasti Mahākāvya* and in *Tod's Annals of Mewār*. The cause of this expedition, we are told, was the Khalji king's infatuation for the fair Padminī. It has, however, been pointed out that Amir Khusrau, who accompanied the Sultan at the time of the expedition, as well as Zia-ud-din Barni, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, do not refer, at least in unambiguous terms, to any such consideration as having influenced the mind of the Sultan. As early as 1297 A.D. the Kotwal of Delhi pointed out the necessity of subjugating the fortresses like Ranthambhor, Chitor, Chanderi, Mālwa, Dhār and Ujjain, which were the keys to Rājputāna and Central India*. In the years that followed the plan of reducing these places was being carried out. Gujarāt was conquered in 1297, and Rantambhor fell in 1300 A.D. The turn of Chitor came next, for it lies on the way from Delhi to Gujarāt. Strategic reasons, added to ambition, rather than romance, seems to have strengthened the determination of Ala-ud-din to conquer the fortress. In later times Sultān Bahadur of Gujarāt and the great Akbar moved in the same direction guided by similar motives. In this connection we must not also forget the defeat of the Sultān's brother in 1299 sustained at the hands of Samarasimha hinted at by Jinaprabha. Still another cause of offence to the Sultān was probably the asylum that the ruler of Mewār granted to a refugee from Rantambhor⁹.

Ala-ud-din started for Chitor in 1303 and captured it after a protracted siege. We are told by the historians of the Mughal period that Ratnasimha fell into the hands of the invaders who forced him to agree to a humiliating peace by surrendering his wife. The Rājputs, however, liberated their prince through a stratagem and he was prevailed upon to die fighting. The resistance continued under the Śīśodīā Lakshmasimha, and, after his death, under his son Arisimha, till the defenders were exhausted, and the fort fell into the hands of the Sultān of Delhi. The Rājput women saved their honour by performing jahaur¹⁰.

The version of the story relating to the fall of Chitor and

the subjugation of Mewār by Ala-ud-din Khalji given above is late. Some of the episodes, described in this connection, e.g., the ruse adopted according to tradition for the rescue of Ratnasimha have a surprising resemblance to tales narrated about other heroes. Attention may be invited to the story of the capture of Rohtas by Sher Shāh¹¹. The critical historian may be inclined to consign interesting tales of this character to the domain of folk-lore. Scholars have traced allusions of a romantic character even in Amir Khusrau's *Khazain-ul Futuh*¹², where the poet styles himself "the bird (Hidhud) of this Solomon (Ala-ud-din Khalji)" who, it is suggested, is commissioned to bring the news of the Balquis of Mewār, that is to say, the fair Padmīnī. It is, however, difficult to build a super-structure of history on such ambiguous texts. The facts narrated by the contemporary chronicler are as follows:—

In 702 A.H. (1302-03 A.D.) Ala-ud din Khalji resolved on the conquest of Chitor. He marched towards the fortress and pitched his camp in the territory between two rivers identified with the Gambhiri and the Berach. Next followed a siege that lasted for several months. The fort surrendered in 703H. (1303 A.D.) The Rai "struck with the lightning of the emperor's wrath flew towards the imperial pavilion, thus protecting himself from the lightning of the sword". He was not treated with severity, nor were the cultivators who seem to have been spared. But the hand of the Sultān fell heavily on the Muquddams (apparently the captains and headmen), who were "cut down like dry grass". The history that we have striven to unfold thus ends in a tragedy. Chitor was renamed Khizrabad, after the new governor, prince Khizr Khan, son of the Sultan¹³ and the kingdom of Mewār passed for a time under the rule of Muslim governor appointed from Delhi.

¹ Chitorgarh Ins. of 1335 V.S. (J.A.S.B., LV, Pt. I, 48.

² Hist. Rāj, I, 477f.

³ E.I. XXIV, 326. *adhigataparabhāgaḥ puṇḍarikākshavakṣaḥ sthalaparīsaradhṛityā prāptasāmrayalakṣmīḥ.*

⁴ D.H.N.I. 11 1099.

⁵ Bhāv. ins., 86, verse 46.

⁶ Hist. Rāj, I, 475 f.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 477n.

⁸ I.H.Q., 1931, p. 290.

⁹ I.H.Q., 1931, p. 291.

¹⁰ Ain, II, 268; Briggs, I, 202.

¹¹ Qahungo, Sher Shah, p. 147.

¹² Habib's translation, p. 48n.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 47 ff.

